

1 - Mr. Alexander - 4260  
1 - Mr. Thau

SAC, Mobile

December 3, 1954

Director, FBI

67983

WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Reurairtel November 30, 1954, captioned "White  
Citizens Council, Information Concerning (Civil Rights)."

You should closely follow the activities of the  
captioned organization in accordance with Section C of  
SAC letter 54-67; however, no active investigation is  
desired at this time.

You should be alert for any indication the  
activities of this organization come within the purview of  
Executive Order 10450 whereby the Attorney General may  
designate organizations which have "adopted a policy of  
advocating the commission of acts of force and violence to  
deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United  
States."

In the event the activities of the captioned  
organization fall within the provisions of Executive  
Order 10450 you should, of course, immediately institute  
an investigation and advise the Bureau.

RET:bas  
(5)

RECORDED - 77

SE 13

105 -

33955 -

DEC 6 1954

EX-125

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 indy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 8  
DEC 3 - 1954  
COMM - FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/20/97 BY 60267 JLS/CC/AM

#448315

105-33955-2  
**CHANGED TO**  
105-34237-X

MAR 1 - 1956

RS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/25/99 BY 60267 NLS/BCE/AMW

C

December 3, 1954

105-33955-3

RECORDED-42

3 20 61 30  
Registration  
Registration  
Registration

10/25/99 BY 60267NLS/BCE/Amu

*Delivered*

WMA:md  
(7)

[illegible]

DEC 3 1954  
MAILED 20

# 1200 Assemble To Seek Answer To Segregation

SELMA, Ala. — (AP)—Some 1200 white men met here in the heart of Alabama's Black Belt Monday night seeking a solution to the problem of racial segregation.

The occasion was for a mass meeting of the newly organized White Citizens Council.

The gathering which filled the auditorium of the Selma Junior High School, came expecting to be told how the issue could be met and defeated, but they were disappointed.

The three speakers on the program—all from Mississippi where similar organizations have been formed recently—spoke largely in generalities. They made no reference to any method in which segregation might be successfully combatted.

The only reference to a publicized "economic blockade" was made by Alston Keith, prominent Selma attorney, and chairman of the Dallas County White Citizens Council.

Keith, who presided at Monday night's meeting, is also chairman of the Dallas County Democratic Executive Committee.

## Claims Legality

In his closing remarks, Keith said, "no economic pressure will be applied, that has not already been sanctioned by the courts of Alabama and the U. S. Supreme Court."

Although billed as an open meeting, in which the organization would "lay its cards on the table," the Dallas County group barred all news photographers and ordered that all news stories be approved by the executive committee.

However, at the conclusion of the meeting, Keith noted nothing "controversial" had been said on the program and the stories were not censored.

The three speakers on the program were Rep. J. S. Williams and Sen. T. M. Williams, both members of the Mississippi Legislature, and the Rev. M. H. Clark, a Presbyterian minister.

Rep. Williams, a tall, not unhandsome man wearing a bright red bow tie, insisted the Mississippi organization is "not one of violence."

"The citizens committee of Mississippi is not a Ku Klux Klan, but our purpose is to give a direct answer to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. We have a heritage in the South for which we should ever be vigilant," he said. "The NAACP's motto is 'the

Negro shall be free by 1963' and shall we accept that?"

## No Fence Straddling

"We can't have it, for if we do, it would ruin the economic system of the South," he continued, Williams added "the men of the South are either for our council or against it. There can be no fence straddling."

Purpose of the group in Dallas County as well as those organized in Marengo, Hale and Perry Counties, is to uphold segregation of the races.

Of considerable significance in all four counties is that the colored population far outnumbered the white.

A total of 65 per cent of the Dallas population is colored; 67 per cent in Perry; 68 in Marengo; and 70 in Hale.

Meanwhile, in Marengo County, more than 150 people attended a mass meeting of the Marengo County Citizens Council at the Marengo courthouse in Linden.

A representative of the Mississippi citizens explained the purpose of the organization and plans were made to hold another meeting at 7:30 p.m. Dec. 6 at the courthouse.

Circuit Solicitor Tom Boff was named temporary chairman of the council. Mayor W. G. Little of Linden presided at the meeting.

THE MOBILE REGISTER  
MOBILE, ALABAMA  
11/30/54

Re: WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL:  
INFORMATION CONCERNING  
(CIVIL RIGHTS)  
MOBILE FILE 44-0



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THE MOBILE REGISTER  
MOBILE, ALABAMA  
11/30/54

Re: WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL:  
INFORMATION CONCERNING  
(CIVIL RIGHTS)  
MOBILE FILE 44-0

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/25/99 BY 60267NLS/bcc/lan

ENCLOSURE 105-33955-3

5-6  
(9-29-54)

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION - FBI

12/2, 1954

Mr. Boardman	Mr. Scatterday
Mr. Belmont	Mr. Ferris
Mr. Keey	Room 7143
Mr. Cleveland	✓ <u>ALEXANDER</u>
Mr. Hennrich	Room 4260
Mr. Baumgardner	
Mr. Branigan	
Mr. Roach	

SUPERVISORS

Mr. Anderson	Mr. Kleinkauf
Mr. Bagley	Mr. Klemp
Mr. Bibler	Mr. Lenz
Mr. Bland	Mr. Mansfield
Mr. Bly	Mr. McGovern
Mr. Brouse	Mr. McIlwain
Mr. Byrnes	Mr. McInturff
Mr. Corman	Mr. Minter
Mr. Cox	Mr. Nelson
Mr. Dise	Mr. Osborn
Mr. Donohue	Mr. Pettit
Mr. A.E. Dooley	Mr. Reddy
Mr. E.F. Dooley	Mr. Rose
Mr. Doyle	Mr. Rotz
Mr. Durland	Mr. Rozamus
Mr. Glascock	Mr. Rushing
Mr. Gough	Mr. Shaw
Mr. Haack	Mr. Shields
Mr. Hall	Mr. Short
Mr. Hallerberg	Mr. Simpson
Mr. J.T. Harrington	Mr. Spencer
Mr. V.D. Harrington	Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Henry	Mr. Thau
Mr. H.P. Higgins	Mr. Thornton
Mr. Jackson	Mr. Van Wagoner
Mr. Jamieson	Mr. Vosburgh
Mr. Johnson	Mr. Williams
Mr. Jordan	Mr. Zinck
Mr. Kelly, 1259	RECORDS SECTION
Miss Novotny, 1246	Place on Record
Mrs. Nunn, 1250	and Return
Miss Bottrell, 1258	Please call me
Mr. Klerekoper, 1264	Please see me
Mrs. Presson, 1250	Note and return
Mrs. Carter, 1248	Per call
Mrs. Shipp, 1503	Correct
	Status

(OVER)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/25/99 BY 60367 NLS/BCC/rom

INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION

Room- 1704

R. E. THAU

I agree - no action  
at this time. I will  
write Mobile & advise  
them to be alert etc.

You can go ahead  
& advise Dept in  
accordance with  
CR policy. pls send  
me a tackler of your  
letter to Dept.

Bob

I have retained carbon copy  
of incoming airtel.

6-17

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION

\_\_\_\_\_, 1954

Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Winterrowd  
Mr. Malley

Mr. Callan  
Mr. Evans  
Mr. Price

Mr. Alexander  
Mr. Andersen  
Mr. Boggan  
Mr. Bolz  
Mr. Bruggeman  
Mr. Coneys  
Mr. Conroy, L.E.  
Mr. Cummings  
Mr. Doerner  
Mr. Eddy  
Mr. Fitzgibbon  
Mr. Frohbose  
Mr. Gallagher  
Mr. Gebhardt  
Mr. Green  
Mr. Hemphill  
Mr. Howell

Mr. Hughes, E.H.  
Mr. Humphreys  
Mr. Johnson, C.D.  
Mr. Jones, W.P.  
Mr. Keep  
Mr. Leggett  
Mr. Lilly  
Mr. McGowan  
Mr. Morgan, H.J.  
Mr. Myers  
Mr. Phillips  
Mr. Pope  
Mr. Smith, M.J.  
Mr. Staffeld  
Mr. Stokes  
Mr. Sylvester  
Mr. Willoughby

Miss Gronquist  
Mr. Howe  
Miss Minner  
Mr. Mullery  
Mr. Quinn  
Miss Rupp  
Miss Watson

Room 1704  
Mrs. Beck, 2252  
Miss Burke  
Miss Harvison  
Miss Taylor  
Miss Wright  
Stenos, 4704  
Typists, 4261

Crime Records  
Crime Statistics  
Foreign Liaison Unit  
Ident. Div.  
Lab.-Document Sec.  
Mechanical Section  
Records Section  
Mr. Scatterday

Place on Record  
and Return  
Please Redate  
Please Handle  
Please Initial  
Please See Me  
Please Call Me  
Please Note and  
Return

Bob

This is in accordance  
with policy on CR - but  
in view of your SAC  
letter SD-67 - do you  
want to no action - if so -

no more terms - I will from

10/2/54  
W. M. Alexander  
SUPERVISOR

10267 NIS/BCE/Amc  
1025/99

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FD-36
Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

FBI, MOBILE

JTB:ojt  
(6)

44-0

11/30/54

Transmit the following ~~teletype~~ message to:

AIRTEL (AM)

DIRECTOR, FBI. . . . .  
WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL, INFORMATION CONCERNING (CIVIL RIGHTS).  
ENCLOSED FOR THE BUREAU'S INFORMATION ARE TWO COPIES OF NEWS  
ARTICLE ENTITLED "1200 ASSEMBLE TO SEEK ANSWER TO SEGREGATION"  
APPEARING ON PAGE 4-A IN 11/30/54 ISSUE OF MOBILE REGISTER,  
DAILY NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED AT MOBILE. ARTICLE CONCERNS  
FORMATION OF WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL, DALLAS COUNTY, SELMA,  
ALA., AT A MEETING HELD IN SELMA ON THE NIGHT OF 11/29/54.

ALSTON KEITH, ATTORNEY, REFLECTED AS CHAIRMAN. ARTICLE  
IDENTIFIED THREE SPEAKERS AT MEETING AS REPRESENTATIVE  
J. S. WILLIAMS AND SENATOR T. M. WILLIAMS, BOTH MEMBERS  
OF MISS. STATE LEGISLATURE, AND REV. [REDACTED], IDENTIFIED  
ONLY AS A PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER. THESE SPEAKERS DISCUSSED  
SIMILAR ORGANIZATION IN MISS., THE CITIZENS COMMITTEE OF  
MISS. THE STATED PURPOSE OF THE DALLAS COUNTY GROUP IS TO  
UPHOLD SEGREGATION, BUT NO METHODS GIVEN AND NO DIRECT  
STATEMENTS MADE AS TO "ECONOMIC BLOCKADE" AGAINST ANY NEGRO  
OR NEGRO GROUP. ARTICLE REFLECTED THAT WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL  
ORGANIZED IN THREE OTHER ALA. COUNTIES IN WHICH COLORED POPULATION  
OUT NUMBERS WHITES. NO INVESTIGATION BEING UNDERTAKEN BY MOBILE

ENCL. (2)  
1 - NEW ORLEANS

Mr. Rosen

Approved: JTB  
Special Agent in Charge

DEC. 2 1954

Sent 105-33955-3 M Per 12/3/54

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/25/99 BY 60271 US/CLM/MS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

-----  
PAGE TWO

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

CONCERNING THIS ORGANIZATION UNLESS SPECIFICALLY REQUESTED BY THE  
BUREAU. CC FURNISHED TO NEW ORLEANS IN VIEW OF REFERENCE TO  
CITIZENS COMMITTEE OF MISS.

SHANKLIN

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 12/9/54

FROM : SAC, MOBILE (105-121)

SUBJECT: WHITE CITIZENS' COUNCIL  
INTERNAL SECURITY -X

Re Bureau memo to Mobile dated 12/3/54 captioned as above and Mobile airtel to the Bureau and New Orleans 11/30/54 entitled "White Citizens Council, Information Concerning (Civil Rights)."

On 10/30/54 Captain [redacted], Selma, Alabama, Police Department reported that a White Citizens' Group was being formed in Dallas County, Selma, Alabama, to defend segregation and that this group was to be patterned after similar groups that had already been formed throughout the State of Mississippi. The goal of the group is to enlist the support of all white businessmen, bankers, lawyers, and other professional groups to exert economic pressure against any Negro advocating the end of segregation and against any white man who refuses to support this organization. One objective of the group is to enlist a representative number of police and law enforcement personnel including all officers with the rank of Lieutenant and up in the Police Department.

b6  
b7C

A semi-secret or unpublicized meeting was held in the Court House on 11/4/54 at which time approximately 200 persons were present. M. ALSTON KEITH, a Selma attorney was "drafted" to act as Chairman of the Group, and an executive meeting was held in his office on 11/24/54. At that time KEITH telephonically inquired of Captain [redacted] the names of all representatives of the NAACP located in Selma, and it was indicated that the attention of the White Group would be directed against the Negro Organization leaders.

COPIES DESTROYED

JPB-ojt  
(7)

21 MAY 1 1972

- 2 - New Orleans (Info.)
- 2 - Birmingham (Info.)

REGISTEREDRECORDED-31 / 05-33955-4  
INDEXED-31 12 DEC 13 1954ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/25/99 BY 60275/SL/CE/AMU

DEC 17 1954

DIRECTOR, FBI

On 11/21/54 the activity of the Mississippi State Councils received widespread publicity with the result that the next meeting of the Dallas County Group was an open, publicized meeting held in the Junior High School. According to [redacted], newspaper reporter, approximately 1,200 white men were in attendance. [redacted] advised that a total of approximately 1,300 members had been signed up at the two meetings, each member paying dues of \$3.00. He added that leaders of the Group had assured members that the membership rolls would be kept secret, the purpose of this being to prevent Negroes from exerting economic pressure themselves against the white people.

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b7C

Active leaders of the Group in Selma, according to [redacted], include M. AISTON KEITE, Chairman; CHRIS HEINZ, Mayor of Selma; BERNARD REYNOLDS, Probate Judge, Dallas County; W. GIVHAN, State Senator. In addition the Group has the active support of ED MULLEN, Chief of Police, and W. C. McCAIN, Sheriff, Dallas County.

SELMA  
ALA

Pertinent excerpts from Press accounts on the activities of the various Councils are being noted below.

THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS, 11/21/54: (Daily newspaper published at Birmingham, Alabama)

"A new type of anti-Negro vigilante movement - using boycotts instead of bullwhips - has arisen in at least one state in the South. ----- Citizens' Councils have been formed in 22 of Mississippi's 82 counties and are spreading. Their purpose is to apply economic pressures to 'troublemakers' who would upset the 'Southern way of life'. -----The ire of the councils is directed against 'outside agitators' in general and the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People in particular. ----- The first Citizens' Council was organized in Sunflower County's seat, the town of Indianola. According to the minutes (of the first meeting) 'it is the thought of our group that the solution to this problem may become easier if various agitators and the like could be removed from the communities in which they now operate. We propose to accomplish this through the careful application of economic pressures'." The article continues with an interview with Attorney General J. P. COLEMAN who was asked whether the activities of the councils might



DIRECTOR, FBI

violate the conspiracy sections of the Civil Rights Sections of Federal Law. "COLEMAN replied: Frankly, I don't know. They'd have to be indicted by a Mississippi Grand Jury and tried before a Mississippi Petit Jury, and it would not take long to see that justice was done."

THE MOBILE PRESS, 11/8/54: (Daily newspaper published at Mobile, Alabama)

An Associated Press article with a dateline of Jackson, Mississippi, is reported on a three day meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. A spokesman for the NAACP made reference to Citizens' Councils organized by white men to maintain segregation through economic pressure, and then stated, "Names of companies and officials who threaten colored persons will be turned over to the NAACP's national office in a two-part program. ----- Under the plan, the national office would investigate to see if Federal Laws have been violated. In addition, the names would be circulated to branch NAACP offices for a 'rigid boycott of the products or services sold by these companies inside or outside of Mississippi'."

THE SELMA TIMES JOURNAL, 11/28/54: (Daily newspaper published at Selma, Alabama)

"A group of Dallas County white citizens who will use 'economic pressure' as a weapon to battle for continued racial segregation will openly reveal its campaign strategy Monday ----- The Council, for which the ground work was laid in semi-secrecy, is now ready to 'lay its cards on the table' a spokesman said. 'The white population in this county controls the money and this is an advantage that the Council will use in a fight to legally maintain complete segregation of the races'. The spokesman clarified 'economic pressure' only to this extent, 'We intend to make it difficult, if not impossible, for any Negro who advocates de-segregation to find and hold a job, get credit, or renew a mortgage'. The spokesman "heatedly" criticized - Associated Press accounts of the Council as a new type of anti-Negro vigilante movement - using boycotts instead of bullwhips. The spokesman continued, "We are not vigilantes. We will operate openly, and violence is the furthestest thing from the minds of the Council members."

DIRECTOR, FBI

THE SELMA TIMES JOURNAL, 11/29/54: (Supra).

An Associated Press report with a Mobile date-line reported a statement of a Mobile, Alabama, Attorney who opposed the organization of the White Citizens' Councils and who urged the President of the Alabama Bar Association to denounce the movement. [REDACTED], the Mobile Attorney, stated, "Most of us favor segregation, but we are unalterably against such movements as this plan to deny work, credit, and basic human needs simply because some Negro exercises his right to advocate peacefully what he thinks ought to be done. We may disagree, but we must defend his right to think and speak as his own conscience dictates."

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b7C

THE BIRMINGHAM POST HERALD, 12/2/54: (Daily newspaper published at Birmingham, Alabama)

"Judge WALTER B. JONES, in his capacity as President of the Alabama Bar Association shrugged off a suggestion today that he denounce a Selma Attorney's plan for opposing de-segregation. Judge JONES said, 'Segregation is a controversial issue in our state today. Those who oppose it are using, as they have the right to do, all legal means within their power, and the forces of such social, political and economic pressures as they are able to mobilize. Those who favor segregation likewise will doubtless use all legal, social, political and economic weapons at their disposal in order to hold firm what they conceive to be their individual and community rights. The lawful exercise of those measures is the privilege of all such citizens. Neither side to this controversy can expect to be unopposed by counter measures so long as measures taken by either side are within our constitutional framework, no one can rightly complain.'"

No active investigation is being conducted by this office of instant organization in the absence of any indication of a violation within the jurisdiction of the Bureau. However, any future activity of the Council thought to be of interest to the Bureau will be promptly called to the attention of the Bureau and interested offices.

No. Bulet  
to Mobile 12-17-54  
instructed active investigation

Next 4  
prints are  
the Best  
could get

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

20 WEST 40th STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

Longore 2-4890

Please direct reply to:

WASHINGTON BUREAU NAACP  
100 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.  
Washington, D. C.  
Telephone National 8-5794

December 27, 1954

BEST COPY  
AVAILABLE

William F. Tompkins, Esq.  
Assistant Attorney General  
Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Tompkins:

We are transmitting herewith for your consideration a copy of a news item appearing in the December 7, 1954, edition of the Baltimore Evening Sun.

We believe that the contents of this article indicate an attempt to resist the law of the land as embodied in the recent Supreme Court decision on school segregation and in 42 U.S.C. 1983, 1985, and 1986. We further believe that such organized opposition to the law of the land constitutes a violation of 18 U.S.C. 2384.

We feel that the statements attributed to the leaders of the meetings described, relating to the spilling of blood on the campus and the inability of "the whole United States Army" to enforce the law of the land do not constitute expressions of opinion, but are inflammatory agitation to bring about forcible resistance to the authority of the United States. These statements would indicate their participation in, or at least knowledge of, such resistance.

We would appreciate the opportunity of discussing with you or your representatives the problems here involved and the Department's course of action thereon.

Sincerely yours,



b6  
b7C

Washington Bureau

JFP:mb  
Enclosure

ENCLOSURE

105-33955

18

JAN 11

LCM

CREW CIVIL RIGHTS

[illegible]

Atlanta, Ga.	Dr. Benjamin L. Mayes
Baltimore, Md.	Clifford Jackson
Baton Rouge, La.	Dr. Martin
Boston, Mass.	Johnnie Lee Jr.
	W. A. Wright
	Rev. K. K. A.
Cambridge, Mass.	Walter Taylor
Camden, N. J.	W. A. Jones
Charlotte, N. C.	W. A. Jones
Chicago, Ill.	W. A. Jones
Cincinnati, Ohio	W. A. Jones
Cleveland, Ohio	Dr. N. A. A. A. A. A.
Columbia, S. C.	W. A. Jones
Dallas, Texas	A. A. Smith
Detroit, Mich.	W. A. Jones
	W. A. Jones

Atlanta Ga  
Birmingham Ala  
Boston Mass  
Cambridge Mass  
Charlotte W Va  
Chicago Ill  
Cincinnati Ohio  
Dallas Texas  
Erie Pa  
Houston Texas  
Ithaca N Y  
Kansas City Mo

Albany, N. Y.	Dr. Joseph B. Robinson
Boston, Mass.	Dr. Edward L. Young
Camden, N. J.	Dr. Mylster Wiggins
Chicago, Ill.	Dr. A. W. MacCall
Cleveland, Ohio	Dr. Nathan Christopher
Detroit, Mich.	Dr. James J. McCendon
Evansston, Ill.	Dr. J. Edmund Bryant
East Mich.	Dr. J. Leonard Leach
Hartford, Conn.	Dr. Allen F. Jackson
High Point, N. C.	Dr. Murray B. Davis
Kansas City, Mo.	Dr. A. Porter Davis
Los Angeles, Cal.	Dr. Emory L. Robinson
Louisville, Ky.	Dr. J. A. C. Lathmore
New Haven, Conn.	Dr. John F. Peters
Natchez, Miss.	Dr. N. M. Machel
New York, N. Y.	Dr. Ernest R. Alexander
	Dr. Viola W. Bernard
	Dr. Russell L. Cecil
	Dr. Harold L. Ellis

New York, N. Y

[illegible]

11/25/69

60267 NLB B. G. Davis

COPY COPY COPY  
"ALA. UNIT GIVES SCHOOL RACE WARNING"

Linden, Ala. Dec. 7 (AP) A warning that "blood will be spilled on the campus" if Negroes try to enter white school in Alabama was voiced last night at an organizational meeting of the Marengo county White Citizens Council.

Another speaker, State Senator Givhan charged that "the whole United States Army is not big enough to force that (integration) upon us."

More than 400 white persons from this predominately Negro-populated South Alabama county attended the W.C.C. organizational session.

Attorney McClain Pitts, of Selma, said, "We intend to maintain segregation and do so without violence."

"BLOOD WILL BE SPILLED"

"But I know the first time a Negro tries to enter Parrish High School at Selma, or any other white school, blood will be spilled on the campus, he warned.

Givhan declared that the goal of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People "is to open the bedroom doors of our white women to Negro men." He added:

"This is white man's country. It always has been and always will be."

Givhan said Walter White, head of the NAACP, is a tool of the Communist party and that the goal of the Communists is to elect a Negro as Vice President of the United States.

"White is neither a Negro nor a white, but a mulatto," Givhan continued. "He favors integration and intermarriage because it will raise his own social standing."

Chairman Lawrence Crawford of the Perry county W.C.C. said results of the organization in his county are already becoming evident.

He said a member of the Perry board of registrars had told him no Negroes would have been registered to vote in the county if the W.C.C. had been organized a year ago "to back us up."

10/25/99 60267N16/ECclaww

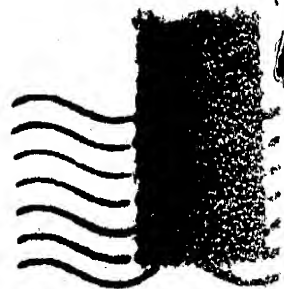
ENCLOSURE

105-33955-✓

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ENCLOSURE

105-33955-1



William F. Tompkins, Esq.  
Assistant Attorney General  
Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D. C.

**SAC, Mobile**

December 17, 1954

Director, FBI

WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

91668

ReBulet dated December 3, 1954, captioned as above.

By memorandum dated December 10, 1954, the Department requested the Bureau to conduct an investigation of the Citizens Councils (of Mississippi) and the American States Rights Association. Appropriate instructions have been directed to New Orleans, Memphis and Birmingham in regard to these organizations.

In view of the Department's interest in organizations whose activities may fall within the purview of Executive Order 10450, you are instructed to immediately initiate an investigation of the captioned organization in accordance with instructions contained in Section 87 D of the Manual of Instructions. It is desired that a report suitable for dissemination be submitted no later than February 16, 1955.

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Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Beardman \_\_\_\_\_  
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February 8 1955

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

William F. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General,  
Internal Security Division

Letter from [redacted]  
Washington Bureau of the NAACP  
dated December 27, 1954

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Transmitted herewith for your information is a copy of  
a letter, with enclosure, which recently was received by this  
Division from [redacted] for the Washington  
Bureau of the NAACP.

Enclosure No. 34699

OWHITE CITIZEN COUNCIL  
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ORIGINAL FILED IN 11-31-871

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/25/99 BY 60267 WJ/bcl/Amw

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## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-33955)

DATE: 2/18/55

FROM : SAC, MOBILE (105-121)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X  
(MOBILE ORIGIN)b6  
b7C  
b7DRe report of SA JOHN P. BRADY dated 2/18/55  
at Mobile

During the course of the investigation of this matter, contact was had with [redacted] both of whom are active in the Dallas County, Ala. Alabama Citizens Council and both of whom have expressed a desire to co-operate with the Bureau by making the information in their files available for review.

[redacted] Both men are well known to the investigating Agent.

It is contemplated, unless advised to the contrary by the Bureau, that both [redacted] will be contacted from time to time as the circumstances and developments of this case might dictate.

report. Enclosed herewith are six copies of referenced

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

MOBILE

REPORT MADE AT <b>MOBILE</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>FEB 18 1955</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>10/30; 11/24, 29; 12/17, 20/54; 1/26, 31; 2/1/55</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>JOHN P. BRADY -mrh</b>
TITLE <b>CHANGED CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - X</b>
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:  <p>Citizens Councils, patterned after similar councils organized in Miss., were first formed in Ala. in 10/54 at Selma, Dallas Co. Other councils since reported organized in Hale, Perry, Marengo and Autauga Counties. Purpose of the organization is said to be to defend segregation of the races in the South through legal means and resulted from Supreme Court decision of 5/17/54 declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional. Spokesmen advocate economic pressure against negroes who seek integration of the races. Constitution and slate of officers of Dallas County Citizens Council set forth. Mobile T-1 advises Dallas Co. Council has one incident under investigation involving a group of negroes who "crashed" a white KA dance being held in Officers' Club at Craig AFB. First mass meeting held at Selma drew audience of approximately 1200 on 11/29/54. Second meeting on 1/31/55 attended by approximately 500. Future meetings scheduled every two months.</p> <p><i>Rett AAG Tompkins w/icc rept 3-8-55 ORW</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">- P - (55m)</p> <p>AGENCY <u>G-2, ONI, OSI</u> REQ. RECD DATE <u>3-7-55</u> HOW FORW. <u>R/S</u> BY <u>C.F.W.-el</u></p> <p><i>Info</i></p>			
<p><b>COPIES DESTROYED</b></p> <p><b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b></p> <p>21 APR 26 1972 ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF ORGANIZATION</p> <p>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED</p> <p>DATE 11/28/83 BY SP1 MAC/MLK</p> <p>6-15-90 293969</p> <p>ENCLOSURE</p> <p>2/28/55 59</p>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED:  <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
<p>(6) - Bureau (105-33955) (RM)</p> <p>1 - OSI, 8th District (RM)</p> <p>1 - New Orleans (Info) (RM)</p> <p>1 - Memphis (Info) (RM)</p> <p>1 - Birmingham (Info) (RM)</p> <p>3 - Mobile (105-121)</p>		<p>105-33955-6</p> <p>21 FEB 23 1955</p> <p>RECORDED - 106</p> <p>INDEXED - 106</p>	

PROPERTY OF FBI—This report is loaned to you by the FBI, and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside of agency to which loaned.

- B) ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE
    - 1) Constitution of Dallas County Citizens Council
    - 2) Officers of Dallas County Citizens Council
  - C) OPPOSITION TO COUNCILS
  - D) INCIDENTS REFLECTING POSSIBLE RACIAL TENSION
  - E) ACTION TAKEN BY COUNCILS TO IMPLEMENT THEIR PROGRAMS
- 

① The title of this report has previously been carried as WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL and is now marked "Changed" to reflect the proper name as CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA.

Mobile Confidential Informants T-1 and T-2, both of known reliability, have advised, under date of January 31, 1955, that the formation of COUNCILS in Alabama resulted from the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, wherein segregation in public schools was held unconstitutional. Further, that it is the intention of the COUNCILS to organize the white men of the South for the purpose of maintaining segregation through whatever legal means may be available. COUNCILS had been formed in Mississippi and were under consideration by various leaders in Alabama when a statement was issued by an official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at Selma, Alabama, stating the goal of the Negro to be complete integration. The organization of the Dallas County Citizens Council at Selma, Alabama, immediately followed in October 1954, and similar county organizations were then formed in Hale, Perry, Linden and Autauga Counties. T-1 added that newspapers have commonly referred to the organization as WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS but the proper name is simply CITIZENS COUNCIL.

A) ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF ORGANIZATION

The organization of WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS was prompted by the United States Supreme Court Decision of May 17, 1954, declaring that segregation in public schools was unconstitutional. The first such council began with a meeting of five or six men in a private home in Indianola, Sunflower County, Mississippi, and the plan for the council was reportedly drawn from the book "Black Monday" by Circuit Judge TOM P. BRADY of Brookhaven in which the theory of economic pressure is advanced. According to the minutes of the first meeting, [redacted] b6 b7C, an Attorney, is said to have explained: "It is the thought

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of our group that the solution to this problem may become easier if various agitators and the like could be removed from the communities in which they now operate. We propose to accomplish this through the careful application of economic pressures....." (Source - THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS, November 21, 1954)

Mrs. WILMA B. ASLEDGE, Mississippi assembly representative from Sunflower County, made a statement to the Mississippi Legislature in which she alleged that the organization was made up of a "widespread group composed of reliable white male citizens who believe that segregation is not discrimination and are organized for the sole purpose of maintaining segregation. They do not and will not advocate violence in any form. The existence and purpose of each council is nonsecretive. However, there are some operations which for obvious reasons cannot be publicized. Such operations will be legal. I am sure you agree with me that such motives and methods are laudable, timely and imperative. They deserve the sanction and participation of all who are willing to mutually pledge their lives, their fortunes and their honor to the preservation of an unsullied race. To falter would be tragic; to fail would be fatal. These will neither falter nor fail." (Source - THE MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER, December 5, 1954)

[redacted], member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's Legal Staff in New York, addressed a meeting at the First Baptist Church for Colored in Selma, Alabama, on November 14, 1954, at the close of a three day meeting of the Alabama Conference, NAACP. She related "I want to tell you what the NAACP is going to do in Alabama. We are going to wage a legal battle to open the University of Alabama's law, medical and graduate schools to Negroes or any other schools on that campus that members of our race may want to attend. We are also going to fight that any other educational institution supported by Negro tax money is opened to members of our race." [redacted] also predicted law suits to abolish segregation of the races on buses, street cars, trains or "anything else that rolls" and told of plans to carry the fight into fields of public recreation, housing and the civil service administration. "Our ultimate goal is full integration and I am confident we will achieve this goal." (Source - THE SELMA TIMES JOURNAL, Selma, Alabama, November 15, 1954)

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On October 30, 1954, Captain [redacted] Selma, Alabama, Police Department, advised the writer that a Citizens Council was being formed in Dallas County, Alabama, to defend segregation and this group was to be patterned after similar groups that had already been formed throughout the State of Mississippi. He advised that it was the goal of the group to enlist the support of all white businessmen, bankers, lawyers and other professional groups to exert economic pressure against any Negro advocating the end of segregation and against any white man who refuses to support this organization. One objective of the group was said to be to enlist a representative number of police and law enforcement personnel including all officers with the rank of Lieutenant and up in the Police Department. A semi-secret or unpublicized meeting was held in the Court House on November 4, 1954, at which time approximately 200 persons were present. M. ALSTON KEITH, a Selma Attorney, was drafted to act as Chairman of the Group and an Executive meeting was held in his office on November 24, 1954. At that time KEITH telephonically inquired of Captain [redacted] the names of all representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People located in Selma and it was indicated that the attention of the white group would be directed against the Negro organization leaders.

Mr. [redacted] of the Selma National Bank, advised the writer on December 17, 1954, that he had served on the nominating committee set up to organize the Citizens Council in Selma. The committee had selected M. ALSTON KEITH, an Attorney who serves as Chairman of the Democratic Committee for Dallas County and who is also currently the President of the Dallas County Bar Association, as Chairman of the Council. [redacted] continued that it was his hope that KEITH would maintain "a level head" with respect to the proposed organization. He stated that it was not intended that the council be radical or to use violence in any form but rather it was intended to exert pressure on politicians. He pointed out that organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are able to approach political leaders with the proposition that they represent "so many votes" and thereby wield a certain amount of influence and in fact in some States appear to hold the balance of power. He continued that he had been informed that some white and negro agitators had visited Mississippi from the North and it was the purpose of the council to counteract

the activities of these agitators through the use of economic pressure. [ ] added that he has attended some meetings of the council but is no longer active in any administrative capacity.

"A spokesman" for the Dallas County White Citizens Council announced that an open meeting would be held in the Junior High School auditorium on November 29, 1954, and Mississippi State Senator T. M. WILLIAMS, a leader in the council movement in Mississippi, would be the guest speaker. The "spokesman" related that "The white population in this county controls the money and this is an advantage that the council will use in a fight to legally maintain complete segregation of the races." Further, "we intend to make it difficult, if not impossible, for any Negro who advocates desegregation to find and hold a job, get credit, or renew mortgage. We are not anti-Negro, we only want segregation maintained, and we are not vigilantes. We will operate openly and violence is the furthestest thing from the minds of the council members. We have lived with Negroes all of these years without trouble and it is our utmost desire to continue this happy relationship, but on a segregated basis." The "spokesman" reported that similar groups were being formed in Perry and Hale Counties and a fourth group would be formed in Marengo County on November 28. He predicted that a State Council is a "probability" in the near future but emphasized that the group in Selma and others, wherever they are organized, will be strictly "local organizations" that have no affiliations with or responsibilities to a central headquarters. Each will operate independently, working out its own problems he stated, and, if a State Council is formed, it will be the servant of the county groups and not the governing body in the move. The "spokesman" continued that the Councils being formed in Alabama were patterned after those which are in operation in Mississippi but added that there are no tie-ins between these in Alabama and those in the neighboring state. He revealed that the Mississippi leaders of the move have aided in organizing the Councils in Alabama but except for the fact "that we are fighting for a common cause, there is no connection between the organizations in the two states."

R. B. PATTERSON, Executive Director of the Mississippi Citizens Council, and [ ], Winona, Mississippi Banker, outlined the program of that state to a group of merchants and farmers at Orville, Dallas County, Alabama, on November 22, 1954. (Source - THE SELMA TIMES JOURNAL, November 28, 1954)

Mr. [REDACTED], reporter, The SELMA TIMES JOURNAL, on November 29, 1954, identified the spokesman referred to above as being M. ALSTON KEITH, Selma Attorney.

Mr. ALSTON KEITH, Attorney, presided over a meeting of the Dallas County Citizens Council held in Selma on November 29, 1954. KEITH told an estimated 1100 to 1200 farmers, merchants, bankers, professional men and public office holders that "We formed to meet a public need; to create an opportunity to express ourselves, disseminate information and help mold public opinion that will be in the best interests of both white and colored races. The group is not anti-Negro. We've always gotten along with our colored brethren and intend to maintain this happy relation, but on a segregated basis. Thru the Council we intend to face our mutual problems and work them out without violence." He added that "no economic pressure will be applied that has not already been sanctioned by the Courts of Alabama and the United States Supreme Court." (Source - THE SELMA TIMES JOURNAL, November 30, 1954)

Representative J. S. WILLIAMS, Noxubee County, Mississippi, spoke at the Selma meeting on November 29, 1954, and charged that "we have a just cause for which to fight: a common Christian cause to which we are honorbound." He asserted that the Citizens' Councils are the direct answer to the NAACP goal for Negroes of "free by '63". "Shall we let a Negro minority group dictate policy to us?" he asked. "What we need is your minds, your cool, comprehensive collective thinking. That is the way you accomplish things. But you must either be for this organization or against it. There is no time for fence straddling now for we have set idly by too long." (Source - THE SELMA TIMES JOURNAL, November 30, 1954)

ALP [REDACTED] identified as a minister, was a featured speaker at the Selma Citizens Council meeting on November 29, 1954. He told the audience that he appeared not as a minister but as a private citizen who "came to instill in you a sense of rightness for your cause.". He stated that the segregation situation now facing the south was "catapulted to us by nine almost obscure men in the U. S. Supreme Court. These men did not follow good legal procedure. The Supreme Court is not a legislative body but is designed to follow precedent of the law and to interpret the law. It is not designed to make a declaration of policy for the nation." He contended that even in the Bible equality is not taught and quoted the



following passages, among others, to emphasize his point: "Man was created a little lower than the angels" and "some shall be rulers over many and some over few." The minister outlined christianity as "relationship of man to God" and not something that is primarily "socialistic or humanitarian." "And there is not one text or passage in the Bible that speaks of "one race, one society or family of nations. Segregation is the best way we know and which He teaches to keep God's will of separation." (Source - THE SELMA TIMES JOURNAL, November 30, 1954)

Senator T. M. WILLIAMS, Lexington, Mississippi, was the last speaker at the Selma meeting of the Citizens Council on November 29, 1954. He stated that "the time has come and the opportunity is here for every citizen who loves his country to make a sacrifice. We need leadership in this fight for we are charged with defying the United States Supreme Court." (Source - THE SELMA TIMES JOURNAL, November 30, 1954)

WILLIAMS also was quoted as stating "The Citizens Committee of Mississippi is not a Ku Klux Klan but our purpose is to give a direct answer to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. We have a heritage in the South for which we should ever be vigilant. The NAACP's motto is the Negro shall be 'free by 1963' and shall we accept that?" (Source - THE MOBILE REGISTER, November 30, 1954)

Sheriff T. WILMER SHIELDS advised Agent on November 29, 1954, that Council groups were being formed in Marengo, Hale and Perry Counties in Alabama, in addition to the Council formed in Dallas County and that an organizational meeting was first held in Linden, Marengo County on November 29, 1954. A second meeting was planned for the night of December 6, 1954, and was to be held in the Court House.

Four hundred white men, of predominately Negro populated Marengo County attended a meeting of the Marengo County Citizens Council at Linden, Alabama, on December 6, 1954.

Principal speakers included Alabama State Senator WALTER C. GIVHAN, Safford, Alabama; McLEAN PITTS, Attorney, Selma, Alabama, and Dr. LAWRENCE CRAWFORD, Chairman of the Perry County Citizens Council. GIVHAN charged that "the goal of the NAACP is to open the bedroom doors of our white women to the Negro men." "This is a white man's country, it always has been and always will be", he added. "It is our duty to train our boys and girls to fight the

the same battle as we are now fighting." GIVHAN was particularly bitter in his denunciation of ~~WALTER~~ WHITE, head of the NAACP and stated "WHITE is neither a Negro nor a white - but a mulatto and he favors integration and intermarriage only because it will raise his own social standing." GIVHAN also said WHITE was a tool of the Communist Party and warned it was their goal to have a Negro Vice President of the United States elected in the near future. "And after that happens, what would prevent them from assassinating the president, thus making the Negro become President", GIVHAN continued. "You say it can't happen here, but I say it can and will unless we stand up and fight. As far as integration in the schools is concerned, the whole U. S. Army is not big enough to force that upon us." GIVHAN urged the county boards of registrars to do all they can to keep down Negro registration. "Under the present law which I helped to pass, the board can refuse registration to anyone who does not meet the qualifications. More and more Negroes are registering to vote everyday. Even in Dallas County we have about 250 Negro voters, much to my sorrow." GIVHAN added that Negroes can enter Alabama schools only through the ballot box and stated, "It is the purpose of the WCC to see that this does not happen."

Dr. LAWRENCE CRAWFORD warned, in his address to the Marengo meeting, of the danger of racial intermarriage. "Only through organizations such as this can we keep the Negroes out of our schools, out of our churches and out of the bedrooms of our white women" CRAWFORD asserted. He continued that results of the Perry County WCC were already becoming evident. He quoted one member of the Perry board of registrars as saying "If the WCC had been organized a year ago, to back us up, no Negro would have been registered to vote."

The third speaker at the Marengo WCC meeting, Attorney McLEAN PITTS, criticized the Montgomery Advertiser for what he charged was an "Unfavorable and unfair editorial" printed in the Montgomery paper with reference to the Councils. PITTS continued "We intend to maintain segregation and do so without violence if possible but I know the first time a Negro tries to enter Parrish High School at Selma or any other white school, there is going to be blood spilled on that campus." (Source - THE MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER, Montgomery, Alabama, December 7, 1954).

McLEAN PITTS, Selma Attorney, in a letter dated December 11, 1954, and printed in the SELMA TIMES JOURNAL on December 12, 1954, charged that he had been misrepresented by

the Montgomery Advertiser in the article describing the WCC meeting at Linden on December 6. PITTS related "The full theme of my speech was to avoid any violence of any kind or any trouble at our schools and this could best be accomplished by maintaining segregation in our schools." Further, "In connection with predicted trouble that might arise if segregation is done away with in our schools, I made the following statement, 'We intend to maintain segregation legally and so without violence. You know and I know the first time a Negro enters any of our schools at Selma or in Marengo County blood may be spilled. We want to avoid this.' I had no knowledge at that time nor do I have any knowledge at the present time of any person or group of persons that would do any act of violence." PITTS adds "----the organization represents the thought of the most prominent and best citizens of Dallas County; its goal or aim is, by legal means, to maintain segregation."

B)

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Mr. [ ] [ ] of the Selma National Bank, advised Agent on December 17, 1954, that Councils were planned at that time for Dallas, Perry, Marengo and Hale Counties in Alabama and that as he understood the plans, the organizational structure would be similar to the Councils that had previously been formed in Mississippi. b6 b7c

Basically, the Mississippi Councils are led by five officers and an executive committee. Four other committees are also included in the chapter framework and these are described as follows:

- 1) Political and Elections Committee - Screen all candidates in local and state elections against those who might be seeking the Negro vote. If necessary, organize a white private election within our group to combat the Negro bloc vote (as our old white primary). Discourage Negro registration by every legal means.
- 2) Information and Education Committee - Gather information pertaining to segregation from all over the nation. Seek information about racial problems and present the truth about racial questions. Educate both black and white to the advantage of segregation and dangers of integration. Handle press, radio and speakers.

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- 3) Membership and Finance Committee - Seeks white patriotic voters for membership (men only). Mobilize public opinion.
- 4) Legal Advisory Committee - Anticipates moves by agitators and devises legal means for handling any problems that may arise. Provide legal counsel for all members. Recommends application of economic pressure to trouble makers.

There are four qualifications for membership: you must favor segregation of the races, you must pay \$3.00 (In Alabama) to join, you must be a man and you must be white. (Source of the Mississippi organization outlined above - THE MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER, December 5, 1954)

Mobile T-2 furnished the writer on January 31, 1955, with a copy of the Constitution of the Dallas County Citizens Council which Constitution is outlined below. He noted that the organization is not incorporated, nor does it have any affiliation with any other Council.

#### CONSTITUTION OF THE DALLAS COUNTY CITIZENS' COUNCIL

##### ARTICLE I -- Name and Object:

The name of this association shall be the Dallas County Citizens' Council.

The object of the association shall be to engender and promote good feeling between the colored and white people of our section; to consult and advise with the various boards, commissions, organizations and officials, both public and private, to the end that friction between the races will be avoided; to act as a sounding board and to investigate the submission of complaints, suggestions, and criticisms relative to the treatment of individuals or groups in order that individuals of both races will be fairly treated and their legal rights protected; to consult, counsel and advise with the leaders and members of the colored race toward the equalization of facilities, a fair division of the tax betterments, of welfare and other relief payments and the equitable division of public housing, school appropriations and charitable donations; to maintain, protect and preserve

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the legal, moral, and ethical separation of the races as provided by law and as sanctioned by our usages, customs, training and tradition.

ARTICLE II -- Membership:

Any white male citizen who is approved for membership by the executive committee shall be eligible for membership in the association other than such persons as are judicial or quasi judicial officials. Quasi judicial officials are defined as including members of the Jury Board, Board of Registrars, Board of Equalization, City and County School Board.

A member may be dropped from the roll after a hearing by the executive committee and refunding of dues paid. Membership may likewise be transferred from our organization to a similar organization on request. Such dues that have been paid or the prorated portion thereof will be paid to the succeeding organization.

No member of the association shall be responsible for any act of the other members or of the officers and executive committee unless directly requested to participate therein.

ARTICLE III -- Dues:

The annual dues of the association shall be in the sum of Three Dollars (\$3.00) for each member. Such dues shall be collected for the year beginning October 1 and ending September 30. The Treasurer, in his discretion, may prorate such dues over such period. Contributions and donations may be accepted from non-members.

No member of the association, as such, shall have access to the books of the association nor be entitled to a report of the disposition of such funds.

ARTICLE IV -- Meetings:

Meetings of the association shall be held at such time and place as may be designated by the executive committee. Such meetings shall be open or closed to non-members, and to the press at the election of the executive

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committee. Notice of the meetings may be given by mail, word of mouth, publication, announcements over the radio or such other means as may be designated by the executive committee.

ARTICLE V -- Officers:

The officers of the association shall consist of:

Chairman  
Vice-Chairman representing the Fork District  
Vice-Chairman representing the Southside District  
Vice-Chairman representing the West Dallas District  
Secretary-Treasurer

An executive committee composed of four representatives residing in the Southside District, four residing in the West Dallas District, four residing in the Fork District and four residing in the City of Selma or its police jurisdiction.

Officers and members of the executive committee shall serve from the date of their election to the close of the annual year of the association which is September 30 and until their successors are elected and qualified.

A majority of the executive committee, including the officers, shall constitute a quorum.

Any two officers or any three members of the executive committee shall have authority to call a meeting in the event the Chairman refuses or neglects to do so. Notice of all meetings of the executive committee shall be given by the Secretary-Treasurer or such other person as said committee shall designate. Such notices shall be in writing.

The executive committee shall meet not less than once in each calendar month.

The members and particularly the chairman of each standing committee may, in the discretion of the executive committee, be invited to attend such meetings

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of the executive committee as shall be designated by it. Such persons shall not be entitled to vote on any matter not directly concerning the committee of which they are members.

ARTICLE VI -- Duties:

It shall be the duty of the Chairman to preside at all meetings of the executive committee and at all general meetings. The Chairman in conjunction with the officers of the association and subject to the approval of the executive committee shall appoint all committees.

Each Vice-Chairman shall have general supervision and responsibility for the membership in his district including the activity of the members of the committees from said district.

Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all the records of the association including finances and shall pay all expenses. He shall make a financial report to the executive committee at each meeting. The expenditure of all funds must be approved by the executive committee.

All officers including members of the executive committee shall at all times have access to the books of the association.

It shall be the duty of the Chairman and officers to appoint the following committees: Membership, Speakers, Political and Investigating, and such other committees.

The officers of the association, subject to the approval of the executive committee shall also annually appoint a nominating committee, such nominating committee to be composed of Mayor, Probate Judge, members of the Board of Revenue and a person from each political district of the County other than the City. Membership committee shall be charged with the duty of making nominations for all officers to be voted on at the annual meeting of the association which annual meeting shall be held in the month of October.

The nominating committee shall also designate an audit committee, such committee to be composed of a

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representative from each bank in Dallas County. It shall be the duty of the audit committee to, at least annually, and as often in their opinion as may be necessary, to audit the books of the association and to report their findings thereon to the executive committee.

The executive committee shall meet at such time and place as may be designated by the Chairman. Meetings shall be held not less than once a month.

The officers and executive committee shall be responsible for making the policy of the association. No person other than one designated shall have the authority to act for and in behalf of the association in any manner whatsoever. The officers and members of the executive committee of the association shall have the entire responsibility for any action taken by the association.

The executive committee is authorized to fill a vacancy arising by any reason among its membership, including the right to declare a vacancy due to such member failing to regularly attend its meetings.

#### ARTICLE VII -- Amendments:

The constitution and by-laws of the association may be amended by the executive committee on the vote of the majority of its members. Such constitution and by-laws may also be amended at a meeting of the members of the association provided such amendment has been passed by a majority of the members and such an amendment is subsequently ratified by a majority of the executive committee.

Mobile T-1 furnished the writer on January 31, 1955, with a schedule reflecting the following individuals to be officers and leaders in the Dallas County Citizens Council. <sup>29</sup>  
26

<u>Position</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Chairman	M. ALSTON KEITH	Attorney
Vice-Chairman, Fork District	W. H. <del>KING</del> ALA	<div data-bbox="1119 1915 1345 1982" style="border: 1px solid black; width: 130px; height: 30px;"></div>

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MO 105-121

Vice-Chairman, Southside  
District

JIM ~~X~~RISHER

Vice-Chairman, West  
Dallas District

JOHN ~~X~~MOORE

Executive Secretary

THOMAS B. ~~X~~STRONG

Executive Committee:  
Southside District:

G. R. ~~X~~BEERS  
L. ~~X~~EDWARDS, JR.  
E. L. ~~X~~CASEY  
MORROW ~~X~~CHANCE

West Dallas District:

K. ~~X~~LATHAM  
J. E. ~~X~~JONES  
J. T. ~~X~~MOORE  
W. W. ~~X~~FINCH

Fork District:

E. L. ~~X~~PICKERING  
THORNTON ~~X~~SILES  
HOWARD ~~X~~LONG  
KENNETH ~~X~~HORTON

Selma area:

McLEAN W. ~~X~~PITTS  
Dr. J. R. ~~X~~WILLIAMS  
CECIL F. ~~X~~SHUPTRINE  
JAKE ~~X~~BENDERSKY

COMMITTEES:  
Membership

HARMON ~~X~~CARTER, Chairman

Speakers

GRAHAM ~~X~~KIRKPATRICK, Chairman

Political and Complaints

AUBREY ~~X~~ALLEN, Chairman

T-1 further advised that at Linden, Marengo County, Alabama, THOMAS H. ~~X~~BOGGS, [redacted] had served as Temporary Chairman of the Marengo County Citizens Council but has been succeeded by one ~~X~~MILLER, who is now Chairman. Mr. W. G. ~~X~~LITTLE, [redacted] had presided at the initial meeting.

MO 105-121

In Marion, Perry County, Alabama, Dr. LAWRENCE CRAWFORD was reported by T-1 to be Chairman of the Council.

In Greensboro, Hale County, Alabama, W. R. WITHERS, Attorney, was reported by T-1 to be Chairman of the Council.

T-1 advised that he did not know the Chairman of the Autauga County Citizens Council.

T-1 advised that as of January 31, 1955, the total Dallas County membership was 700 but that an effort would be made to increase that total at an open meeting to be held that night.

C)

OPPOSITION TO COUNCILS

[redacted] <sup>file</sup> a Mobile Attorney, wired Judge WALTER B. JONES, President of the Alabama Bar Association on November 28, 1954, urging him to denounce the movement (formation of Citizens Councils) "in the name of the Bar." [redacted] was quoted as stating "The Bar of Alabama, sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States and our state, and to abide by the code of ethics your illustrious father first formulated, will be wanting in basic Christian duty toward our neighbors if we do not take the lead in crushing such movement as this. Most of us favor segregation, but we are unalterably against such movements as this plan to deny work, credit and basic human needs simply because some Negro exercises his right to advocate peaceably what he thinks ought to be done. We may disagree, but we must defend his right to think and speak as his own conscience dictates." (Source - THE SELMA TIMES JOURNAL, November 29, 1954)

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Replying to [redacted], Judge JONES stated "The State Bar Association is always concerned with the rights and privileges of our people. Segregation is a controversial issue in our state today. Those who oppose it are using, as they have the right to do, all legal means within their power, and the forces of such social, political and economic pressures as they are able to mobilize. Those who favor segregation likewise will doubtless use all legal, social, political and economic weapons at their disposal in order to hold firm what they conceive to be their individual and community rights. The lawful exercise of those measures is the privilege of all such citizens.

Neither side to this controversy can expect to be unopposed by countermeasures so long as measures taken by either side are within our constitutional framework, no one can rightly complain. The Bar of the State of Alabama includes all shades of political opinions and sects and races. Those favoring the abolition of segregation have been unhampered by bar association pressurers or pronouncement in their political, economic and social movements looking to its abolition. Regardless of my feelings with respect to the matters to which you called my attention, I do not feel that I, as president of the Bar Association, am authorized to censor them unless I, as such president, should also take unto myself the right to censor political, social and economic activities looking to the abolition of segregation. If when all facts are at hand, it should appear that any unlawful activities exist aiming at depriving any of our citizens of their constitutional and statutory rights, they have adequate remedies in our state and Federal courts, and will find those courts open to hear their complaints and members of the Alabama Bar ready to assert and defend the rights of our citizens." (Source - THE BIRMINGHAM POST HEARLD, December 2, 1954)

The Mississippi Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People issued a statement at the close of a three day meeting at Jackson, Mississippi, on November 7, 1954, that they would boycott products of Mississippi firms that use economic pressure to keep colored persons from fighting segregation. Names of companies and officials who threaten colored persons will be turned over to the NAACP's national office in a two part program, the Branch's statement said. Under the plan, the national office would investigate to see if Federal laws have been violated. In addition, the names would be circulated to branch NAACP offices for a "rigid boycott of the products or services sold by these companies inside or outside of Mississippi. (Source - THE MOBILE PRESS, November 8, 1954)

*MISS. ALA.*  
Dr. CHANNING H. ~~X~~TOBIAS, Chairman of the Board of the NAACP, telegraphed the President on December 20, 1954, requesting a conference at the earliest convenience of the President to discuss what he called "undisguised economic intimidation" of Negro leaders advocating desegregation in Mississippi. TOBIAS asked that the Federal Government and the personal moral suasion of the President be used to halt the practice. (Source - THE BIRMINGHAM POST HEARLD, UNITED PRESS release, December 28, 1954)

MO 105-121

Dr. [redacted] <sup>ALA</sup> [redacted] of the Union Theological Seminary, Birmingham, was the main speaker at a meeting sponsored by the Southern Negro Improvement Association of Alabama, Inc., held at Notasulga, Alabama, on January 22, 1955. [redacted] indicated that the Association is in direct conflict with the NAACP and [redacted] referred to members of the latter group as "these outside troublemakers". [redacted] continued "I hope that none of you will allow radicals of either race to confuse and agitate you. We are sitting on a powder keg. All our help is going to come from the white man and I beg you to stand by them." (Source - THE MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER, January 23, 1955)

D) INCIDENTS REFLECTING POSSIBLE RACIAL TENSION

Mr. [redacted] [redacted] of the Selma National Bank, advised Agent on December 17, 1954, that the Black Belt area of Alabama, which comprises four of the counties in which Councils have been formed, has been generally free of any racial tensions. He noted that the negro constitutes approximately 65 percent of the Dallas County population; 67 per cent of the Perry County population; 69 per cent of the Marengo County population and 70 per cent of the Hale County population. Only recently, he continued, he has noted several minor incidents which he thought indicated an undercurrent of racial tension. Specifically he advised that: <sup>MRS</sup> [redacted] <sup>ALA</sup>

a. <sup>ALA</sup> [redacted] of the Negro High School in Selma, had given a blood donation at the local blood bank sponsored by the Red Cross. As was customary, the newspaper listed the names of all donors including the name of [redacted] and, as has been customary in referring to Negroes, the newspaper omitted any prefix and did not refer to the donor as Mrs. [redacted]. [redacted] advised that the donor was very bitter in her complaint concerning the matter.

b. A Negro school teacher from the Payne School appeared at the bank to make a deposit and while waiting for the teller to complete the transaction, entered into a conversation with a nearby friend. When the teller finished posting her passbook he put it on the counter and in order to attract the

customer's attention made some comment such as "here you are girl". [ ] stated that the customer became highly indignant and rebuked the teller for calling her a girl instead of "lady".

- c. A representative of the Hudson High School had made a cash deposit at the bank and after he had left the teller discovered a \$1 bill included in the deposit on which several obscene remarks had been written in pencil referring to white people in uncomplimentary terms. [ ] expressed the opinion that the handwriting on the bill was neat and appeared to have been more likely made by an adult than by one of the students. Further, that it was obviously intended that the writing on the bill would come to the attention of someone in the bank. He continued that he was concerned less some teacher at the high school was teaching the Negro youngsters to hate the white race.

[ ] stated that it had been suggested to him that he turn over the mutilated dollar bill to the Citizens Council but had decided to hold it for the Secret Service as possibly constituting a violation of Treasury regulations.

E) ACTION TAKEN BY COUNCILS TO IMPLEMENT THEIR PROGRAMS

Captain [ ] advised Agent on January 26, 1955, that the Executive Committee of the Dallas County Council has met a number of times in the offices of ALSTON KEITH and that KEITH had made several inquiries of his office indicating the interest of the Council. Specifically, KEITH had inquired as to: *ALA*

- a. The names, addresses and occupation of all Negroes connected with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
- b. He made reference to a report that a white fraternal organization had used the facilities of the Officers Club at Craig Air Force Base for a dance and that several local Negro couples were at the Base at the time and visited the ballroom during the dance, and he asked if [ ] could identify the Negro couples. [ ] added that he declined to

do so although he knew who they were and considered them to be responsible and reliable Negroes.

c.

He made reference to an incident wherein a member of the Citizens Council observed one of his children reading a book concerning Negroes which the child had obtained at the school library. The member complained to the Council and KEITH advised that he would refer the book to a committee for review. [redacted] added that [redacted] had expressed concern over the action of the Council and had noted that the book in question was of a type that has been in the school library for generations.

Mobile T-1 advised Agent on January 31, 1955, that the only matter that has been approved by the Council for investigation to date concerns the incident that occurred at Craig Air Force Base. He related that an Alumni Association of the KA fraternal organization had arranged to use the facilities of the Officers' Club for a dance. While they were there a Negro Captain, whose name he believed to be [redacted] or [redacted], visited the Officers' Club with a number of Negro civilians from Selma. He continued that he was informed that these civilians included a Dentist, Dr. [redacted] and [redacted]. It is his understanding that there were several others in the party as well. He continued that the Negroes entered the ballroom and occupied a table and later made use of the dance floor. He stated that he believes the Negroes were deliberately attempting to create an incident since it is widely known that the KA organization is a strictly white southern group.

Mobile T-1 continued that an open meeting was to be held on the evening of January 31, 1955, and after the principal addresses, a closed business meeting for members only would be held. Among the items up for discussion at the business meeting was the above mentioned incident. He continued that no suggestion of economic pressure or other retaliation would be urged upon the members but the facts would be made known to all of the members. He advised that it is a practice for many employers of Negro labor, particularly the landowners, to pay the medical and dental bills of Negroes in their employ and he would not be surprised if these employers would decline to pay such bills in the future if the employee used the services of Dr. [redacted]. He expressed the opinion that they would be well within

MO 105-121

their legal rights if they cared to take such action. He noted that in the past month a number of Negroes, prompted by the NAACP, have called at his place of business and informed him that they would no longer do business with him.

Mobile T-2 advised Agent on February 1, 1955, that approximately 500 persons were in attendance at the meeting held in Selma on the preceding evening. He noted that speeches in defense of segregation were delivered by ROBERT B. PATTERSON, an organizer of the Mississippi Councils, and by the Reverend [redacted], pastor of the [redacted] Church in Selma. T-2 added that further meetings would be held about every two months and that speakers scheduled for addresses in Selma included [redacted] of Mobile; ALA- Dr. [redacted], Montgomery minister, and United States Senator JIM EASTLAND of Mississippi.

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MO 105-121

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Copies of this report are designated for New Orleans, Memphis and Birmingham because of the existence of similar type organizations in the territory covered by those offices.

INFORMANTS

Mobile T-1:

Mobile T-2:

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LEADS

THE MOBILE DIVISION:

AT SELMA, ALABAMA

Will continue to report on the organization and activities of Citizens Councils in Alabama.

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to Mobile dated 12/17/54



1-Belmo

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Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

March 8, 1955

Director, FBI

CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X  
FBI FILE 105-33955

There is being furnished you herewith one copy of the report of Special Agent John P. Brady dated February 18, 1955.

You may desire to review this report in detail in connection with the provisions of Executive Order 10450.

Attachment

0-16 Mobile  
Lump in med  
4-22-55  
CFN-2

CFW:bas  
(5)

0-1 from Mobile dated  
5/17/55. Rpt. will be  
sub. 5/16/55. 5/18/55  
for

RECORDED - 63  
EX-120

105-33955-7

24 MAR 9 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/26/99 BY 60367 NLS/BEH/ML

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 8  
MAR 8 - 1955  
COMM-FBI

MAR 11 1955

7376

SAC, Atlanta

March 22, 1955

Director, FBI (105-34237)

**CITIZENS COUNCILS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X**

At the suggestion of the Department, the New Orleans and Memphis Offices are conducting an investigation of the "Association of Citizens Councils (of Mississippi)" for consideration by the Department pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

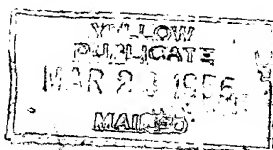
The Mobile Office is also conducting an investigation on the Citizens Councils of Alabama.

The first Citizens Council was organized July 11, 1954, at Indianola, Mississippi, and as of February, 1955, councils were formed in twenty-five counties of Mississippi with a total membership of approximately 30,000. The Citizens Councils of Alabama pattern after the councils organized in Mississippi and were first formed in Selma, Alabama, in October, 1954.

The Citizens Councils disclaim affiliation with or similarity to the Ku Klux Klan. The stated objectives include discouraging Negroes from voting and maintaining segregation in public schools. These objectives are being carried out by economic pressure brought to bear on Negroes seeking to vote or who are in favor of integration in schools. The councils claim no violence will be used and only legal means employed.

All offices receiving copies of this letter are instructed to be alert for the formation of Citizens Councils in the territory covered by your offices. Upon the receipt of such information you should advise the Bureau immediately by letter setting forth all pertinent data concerning the organization and the officers thereof. No investigation should be conducted without prior Bureau authority.

2 cc - Birmingham  
2 cc - Charlotte  
2 cc - Knoxville  
2 cc - Little Rock  
2 cc - Louisville  
2 cc - Memphis  
2 cc - Bufile 105-33955  
CFW:ph (28)  
ORIGINAL ON DUPLIMAT  
See memo Belmont to Boardman dated March 24, 1955, re  
Citizens Councils, Internal Security - X. CFW:ph



2 cc - Miami  
2 cc - Mobile  
2 cc - New Orleans  
2 cc - Norfolk  
2 cc - Savannah

60 MAR 31 1955

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FORM No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

MOBILE

REPORT MADE AT <b>MOBILE</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>MAY 18 1955</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>3/21; 4/7, 8; 5/11, 12/55</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>JOHN P. BRADY - ojt</b>
TITLE <b>CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - X</b>

## SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Mobile T-1 advised on 5/11/55 that no changes in organization or aims of Council since last contacted 1/31/55. No open meetings held since that date. Next meeting is now planned for 6/22/55 at Memorial Stadium where principal speakers are to be HERMAN TALMADGE, TOM P. BRADY and R. B. PATTERSON. Selma Police Captain advises Councils appear to have been more or less dormant past few months. Additional organizational data re Marengo County Council lists speakers at meeting of 12/6/54. No indication of a Council formed in Autauga County.

DETAILS: AT SELMA, ALABAMA

Informant T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, reported on May 11, 1955 that there had been no changes in the organizational structure or in the aims and purposes of the Citizens Council since he had last reported on January 31, 1955. He related that there had been no open meetings held in Selma since January 31, 1955 although the

AGENCY RAB-6, 62, ONE, OSI  
 REQ. REC'D  
 DATE FORW. 6-2-55  
 HOW FORW. R/L  
 BY CEW-el

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ON 12/13/91 320608

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT		105-33955-8
6 - Bureau (105-33955) (RM) 1 - OSI, 8th District (RM) 1 - Birmingham (Info) (RM) 1 - Memphis (Info) (RM) 1 - New Orleans (Info) (RM)		MAY 23 1955 RECORDED - 67 INDEXED - 67

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51 JUN 3 1955

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Executive Committee had continued to meet at regular intervals. Discussions at these meetings had developed the general theme that there were only a few Negroes in Dallas County, not more than six, who were considered troublemakers by the Council. These Negroes were those active particularly in the work of the National Association for the Advancement for Colored People. He advised that to his knowledge there had not been any instances where any action, either economic or any other kind, had been taken against these Negroes. He pointed out that the Council was determined to avoid violence and to keep a tight control on its activities so as to avoid either violence or illegality. It was his opinion that the purposes of the Council were being met simply by holding an occasional meeting and he stated that the next open meeting is currently planned for the night of June 22, 1955. He stated that the meeting will be open to the public and will be held at Memorial Stadium. Principal speakers are scheduled to be HERMAN TALMADGE, former Governor of the State of Georgia; Circuit Judge TOM P. BRADY of Brookhaven, Mississippi, author of the book, "BLACK MONDAY", described by T-1 as a sort of unofficial textbook of Citizens Councils; and R. B. PATTERSON, Executive Director of the Mississippi Citizens Councils. It is further planned that copies of the book "BLACK MONDAY" will be distributed at the Stadium. AIA

In addition, T-1 reported that no additional Councils had been formed in the State to his knowledge, although inquiries had been received from most counties as to the type of organization that had been set up. He noted that a committee representing several Councils from Dallas, Marengo, Perry and Hale Counties had been formed to consider and make a recommendation as to the advisability of organizing a State Council, but this committee had not as yet taken any action.

ALSTON KEITH, Chairman of the Dallas County Council, issued a Press statement printed in the Selma Times Journal, daily newspaper published at Selma, Ala., in issue of March 8, 1955 in answer to an article that appeared in Look Magazine by HODDING CARTER, editor of the Greenville, Mississippi, Delta Democrat Times. CARTER had charged, according to the Selma Times Journal, that the "Citizens Councils are threatening to become a modern day Ku-Klux-Klan." In his statement to the Press, KEITH announced, "We organized to prevent violence, but I will say this. If people like CARTER keep sounding off for selfish interests and stirring up the Negroes with false

accusations, there will be trouble and bloodshed. And nothing can prevent it." The newspaper article continues: "The Mississippi editor writes that 'So far, they have agreed that violence must be ruled out' but he said that economic pressure is their weapon to discourage Negro political activity and desegregation efforts in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, South Carolina and Northern Florida. Despite their non-violent intent, CARTER says, 'But I can imagine hoodlums taking over if today's leaders give way to boredom or anger or despair. These Citizens Councils can become instruments of interracial violence. The ingredients are there. The incentive and incendiary spark are lacking - so far. If and when these should appear, I say, soberly and in warning, that the men in white robes will seize control.'

"KEITH said Tuesday that 'economic pressure, as the means that the Councils use to force continued segregation has been completely overplayed, sensationalized. It's ridiculous to even consider that such action could be applied to the masses of Negroes in the south.' He stated for example that there are approximately 35,000 Negroes in Dallas County and that he cannot foresee having to employ this 'extreme' means of control on more than a half-dozen trouble makers, at the most.' KEITH continued that 'With the vast majority it boils down to nothing more than simply sitting down with the recognized Negro leaders who have the best interests of their race at heart, talking over our mutual problems and working out a peaceable solution beneficial to both races.' The Council leader described the 'few troublemakers' as those 'individuals who have been misled by the communist inspired NAACP into working actively for it.' KEITH reaffirmed that the Council will continue to 'in every legal way possible' to oppose any breaking down of the segregation barriers 'but we will make just as strong an effort to aid our Negroes in any way they seek to better their conditions on a segregated basis'

Captain [REDACTED], Selma Police Department, advised on May 12, 1955 that it appeared to him that the Councils had become more or less dormant and that no activity had come to his attention in recent months.

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AT MARENGO COUNTY, ALABAMA

Mobile Confidential Informant T-2 under date of March 21, 1955 made available a report on the organizational meetings of the Marengo County Citizens Council.

WHO IS IN A POSITION TO  
FURNISH RELIABLE INFORMATION  
BUT WHOSE RELIABILITY IS  
UNKNOWN

6-3-55  
@fw

MO 105-121

This report included the following information:

November 22, 1954 - Group of local leaders met with other Black Belt County leaders and discussed White Citizens Councils' plans.

November 29, 1954 - First public meeting held at the Marengo County Court House. Attended by 20 white men. Each was asked to bring five others to meeting on December 6th. Elected Circuit Solicitor THOMAS H. ~~BOGGS~~ temporary Chairman and ROY ~~BARKSLEY~~ temporary secretary. *ALA*

December 6, 1954 - Meeting attended by approximately 200 men. Mr. BOGGS presided. Speeches were made by State Senator WALTER GIVHAN of Dallas County; Dr. [redacted] of Hale County; Dr. LAWRENCE ~~CRAWFORD~~, Perry County; Mr. MCLEAN ~~PITTS~~, Selma Attorney; Mr. [redacted] of Orrville, Dallas County; and [redacted] WALTER GIVHAN. *ALA*

AT AUTAUGA COUNTY, ALABAMA

*6-3-53  
CFW*  
Inquiry of the following [redacted] informed sources by Special Agent [redacted] failed to establish the existence of a Citizens Council in Autauga County.

[redacted], Prattville, Alabama  
Mr. [redacted], Prattville, Alabama  
Mr. [redacted], Montgomery, Alabama  
Mobile Confidential Informant T-2

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MO 105-121

- ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE -

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

Sources concealed in this report have been so handled after due consideration and for good reason.

INFORMANTS

Mobile T-1 :

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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Mobile T-2 :

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

Reporting information furnished to SA [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] by letter dated 3/21/55.

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LEADS

MOBILE DIVISION

AT SELMA, ALABAMA

Will continue to report on the organization and activities of Citizens Councils in Alabama.

REFERENCE: Report of SA JOHN P. BRADY, 2/18/55, Mobile.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE



MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

May 16, 1955

MR. A. H. BELMONT

CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATES'  
 RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - X  
 BUFILE 105-34237

Background:

Since Supreme Court decision of 5-17-54 re integration of Negroes and whites in public school autonomous organizations under various names have been formed in Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia and Maryland for the ostensible purpose of maintaining segregation. These organizations are for the most part made up of prominent citizens such as state legislators, doctors, lawyers, bankers, et cetera, who are opposed to any use of force and violence in maintaining segregation. These organizations disclaim any affiliation with or similarity to the Ku Klux Klan and intend to achieve their purpose through economic pressure brought to bear on members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), individuals seeking Negro votes, Negro voters and integrationists.

Example:

One of the better examples of these organizations is the Association of Citizens Councils ( of Mississippi) which claims 30,000 members in 25 counties in Mississippi. The Internal Security Division of the Department by letter 12-10-54 suggested investigation of this organization with a view toward designating it under Executive Order 10450. According to the letter particular emphasis should be placed on any policies or activities which indicate that the organization had "adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force and violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States." Investigation has been conducted and reports submitted to the Department. The Criminal Division of the Department has made several requests for investigation of possible civil rights violations in connection with the Association of Citizens Councils. These possible violations concern alleged attempts to prevent Negroes from voting and refusal by employees of the Federal Home Administration to make loans to Negroes affiliated with the NAACP. The NAACP was quick to secure affidavits in the latter cases and furnish them to the White House.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/26/99 BY 60267 NLS/Bcd/amu

CFW:bas

(4)

- 1 - Mr. Boardman
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr.

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ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 105-34237-19

Citizen Council of Ala. Bana

MAY 17 1955



Memo - Belmont-Boardman  
dated May 16, 1955

Current Bureau Policy:

Current Bureau policy is that we do not investigate groups that advocate and employ legal means to achieve their objectives; however, where advisable the field is authorized to investigate organizations established for purpose of combatting or advocating affirmative action against racial minorities. Such groups may result in civil rights violations and in cases such as these organizations it is believed desirable that determination of those involved be made and activities of the organization be followed. This investigative background will be most useful in the event civil rights violations should occur in the future in connection with their activities.

By letter dated 3-22-55 twelve southern offices were informed of the rapid spread of these groups and were instructed to be alert for the formation of such organizations in their territory. These offices were instructed that upon receipt of such information to advise the Bureau immediately by letter setting forth pertinent data concerning the organization and officers thereof. No investigation was to be conducted without prior Bureau authority.

Observations:

It is reported that the attitude of the people in the southern states is that the Supreme Court decision is objectionable not only from the standpoint of its social obligations but is actually unconstitutional and an infringement of states rights. Therefore, it appears that strong opposition will be registered by the southern states at such time as integration is made mandatory. Inasmuch as the people connected with these organizations appear to be leaders and respected citizens in their community investigations conducted could be attended by adverse criticism of the Bureau.

The Supreme Court has not yet handed down any date on which integration is to take place. At the time it is probable that these organizations will become more active and that extra legal steps will be taken to prevent integration. Therefore, it is believed that we should have information concerning these groups and the individuals connected therewith prior to any incidents which may take place. In view of the above the field has been following the activities of these organizations to determine whether others are being denied their rights under U. S. Constitution and reports have been furnished Department for consideration under Executive Order 10450.

COPY:MSH

Memo - Belmont-Boardman  
dated May 16, 1955

RECOMMENDATION:

If you approve we will continue having the field follow the activities of these organizations and will continue to furnish reports thereon to the Department for consideration under Executive Order 10450.

OK

H

SAC, Mobile (105-121)

June 2, 1955

Director, FBI (105-33955)

CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

91667

Reference is made to previous correspondence in this matter. In view of the nature of this organization and the prominence of the individuals connected therewith it is desired that any inquiries made concerning its activities be most discreetly handled in order to avoid any possible embarrassment to the Bureau. In setting forth leads for other offices you should caution those offices to be discreet in any investigation conducted.

ON YELLOW:

Captioned organization is similar to the Citizens Councils of Mississippi. It was formed for the purpose of maintaining segregation in public schools and its members are prominent citizens in Alabama. The Department suggested an investigation of this organization for consideration under Executive Order 10450.

*0-1 to Mobile  
7-19-55  
Cpl. SSM*

*0-1 from Mobile  
att. 7-22-55  
sub. 7-14-55  
7-27-55  
pm*

CFW:bas  
(4)

*ll*

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EX - 103

COMM - FBI
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Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
andy \_\_\_\_\_

*Om*

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5 JUN 8 1955

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

MOBILE

REPORT MADE AT <b>MOBILE</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>JUL 14 1955</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>6/23;7/1,7/55</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>JOHN P. BRADY : Amd</b>
TITLE <b>CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - X</b>

## SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Mass meeting held by CITIZENS COUNCILS at Selma, Ala., 6/22/55 attended by approximately 5000. Program set forth, principal speakers being HERMAN TALMADGE, TOM P. BRADY and ROBERT PATTERSON. Copies of Black Monday and other literature reflecting aims and purposes of COUNCILS distributed at meeting. Some individuals, including [redacted], restrained from distributing literature not approved by COUNCILS. National organization reported to be formed in New Orleans, La. known as FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT led by JOHN U. BARR. Dallas County CITIZENS COUNCIL will affiliate with this group. COUNCIL formed in Autauga County with C. D. JACKSON as chairman. No additional meetings planned in Selma at this time, but rally planned at Birmingham, Ala. by AMERICAN STATES RIGHTS ASSOCIATION, INC. to include same speakers as appeared in Selma. Dallas County COUNCIL presently concerned with newspaper entitled THE SELMA MIRROR being distributed by Negroes and containing what is described as a grossly untrue account of a Selma police case.

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AGENCY RAO-4-2, 101, OSI  
REQ. REC'D  
DATE FORW. 8-1-55  
HOW FORW. A.S.  
BY CHW/SAD

*0-17 to mobile  
Atlanta, Birmingham  
New Orleans 8-2-55  
Rpt. Subm. 6 cc in file of Rpt.*

## DETAILS: AT SELMA, ALABAMA

On July 1, 1955, McLEAN PITTS, Attorney and a member

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau (105-33955)(RM) 1 - OSI, 8th District (RM) 1 - G-2, 3rd Army (RM) 1 - ONI, 6th ND (RM) (Copies cont'd next page)		105-33955-10	RECORDED-96 INDEXED-96
		JUL 18 1955	

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MO 105-121

of the Executive Committee of the Dallas County CITIZENS COUNCIL, reported that the open mass meeting of CITIZENS COUNCILS took place as planned at Selma on June 22, 1955. PITTS continued that approximately 5000 persons were present from Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia, and the program that was followed is outlined below:

Invocation

Reverend HARRY W. FANCHER,  
Retired Baptist Minister

Speakers

HERMAN TALMADGE  
Former Governor of State of  
Georgia

TOM P. BRADY  
Circuit Judge, Brookhaven,  
Mississippi, and Vice-President,  
Mississippi Bar Association

ROBERT PATTERSON  
Executive Secretary of the  
Mississippi CITIZENS COUNCILS

SYD SMYER  
Retired Legislator and Attorney,  
Birmingham, Alabama

M. ALSTON KEITH  
Chairman, Dallas County, Alabama  
CITIZENS COUNCIL

W. C. GIVHAN  
State Senator, Dallas County, Ala.

\* \* \*

Copies of Report To:

- 1 - Atlanta (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Birmingham (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Memphis (Info) (RM)
- 1 - New Orleans (Info) (RM)
- 2 - Mobile (105-121)

PITTS noted that guests of honor who were seated on the speakers' stand included Alabama State Senators E. O. EDDINS, Marengo County; M. H. MOSES, DeKalb County; GERALD BRADFORD, Clarke County; SAM ENGELHARDT, Macon County; JAMES COLEMAN, Greene County; ROLAND COOPER, Wilcox County; ALBERT BOUTWELL, Jefferson County; ALBERT DAVIS, Pickens County; DAVE YARBROUGH, Autauga County; JOE DAVIS, Lowndes County; H. P. JAMES, Bibb County and STATE TATE, Coosa County, Alabama. An invitation was extended to Governor JAMES E. FOLSOM and Lieutenant Governor GUY HARDWICK of Alabama, but both declined to attend.

PITTS further advised that details of the mass meeting had been in the hands of the following:

JAKE BENDERSKY	Publicity
COMER SIMS	Grounds
McLEAN PITTS	Program
W. C. GIVHAN	Reception
CECIL SHUPTRINE	Entertainment
HARMON CARTER	Membership
TOM STRONG	Treasurer

It is observed that all of the above are Selma, Alabama residents.

The Selma Times Journal, daily newspaper published in Selma, in issue of June 23, 1955, attributed the following comments to the speakers at the mass meeting held in Selma on June 22nd:

HERMAN TALMADGE

"Former Governor HERMAN TALMADGE outlined a four-point program by which the South can meet the threat of desegregation ---- The Georgian called for a united South and offered the following four points as a solution .....

1. State legislative action which would abolish the public school system.

2. Elimination of public funds for any school where white and colored children attend.
3. An application of stern economic and social pressure on all 'modern day scalawags' who favor integration or who won't fight to maintain segregation.
4. United public opinion in the South which would express itself at the polls against anyone 'who would sell us down the river.'

TOM P. BRADY

"----veteran jurist called for impeachment of present U.S. Supreme Court Justices and proposed that members of the Supreme Court should be elected to office so they could be held accountable to the people. BRADY warned 'segregation is only a small segment of the overall design. The ultimate objective is to socialize and communize. The NAACP has no concern for the Negroes of the South. It is pledged to integrate and mongrelize the nation and is a willing and ready tool in the hand of Communist front organizations --- We must give our Negro good but separate schools, libraries, playgrounds, hospitals and an opportunity to develop to the fullest of his inherent possibility'."

REVEREND HENRY M. FANCHER

"The Southside Baptist pastor, keynoted the session with a prayer for strength, wisdom and courage to fight those who would destroy the purity of our race."

ROBERT PATTERSON

"PATTERSON asserted that 'bitter words and fancy phrases will get us nowhere. We have got to make our votes count, our sentiments known at the ballot box' ----challenged his audience ---'if 40,000,000 white southerners let the 250,000 members of this group dictate our future, then whatever our fate be, it will be too good for us!.."

SYD SMYER

"SYD SMYER, who is now a leader in the Methodist Church's battle for continued segregation of its membership, sounded an alarm for members of other churches to be on the alert for 'the same thing that is happening to the Methodists is happening to your church'. He charged his audience to have the courage to stand up and be counted."

M. ALSTON KEITH

"KEITH promised that 'segregation will be maintained in our public schools. No Negro will enter a white school, nor will any white child enter a Negro school, and we must voice our opposition to the weak-kneed and self seeking politicians who advocate integration'. He asserted that 'the best way to express our opposition to integration is through a strong group such as the Citizens Council'."

W. C. GIVHAN

"GIVHAN pictured the South as facing its most serious threat in history in the segregation crisis. 'Our long established customs will be shattered if we submit to the decree of nine men who have violated every principle of states rights and individual freedom granted in the constitution of the United States. We must stand and fight today, tomorrow and forever against those who, for personal gain, would destroy our Southern way of life'."

Captain [REDACTED], Selma, Alabama Police Department, advised on July 7, 1955, that no incidents had been reported to the Selma Police Department either before or after the mass meeting held by the CITIZENS COUNCILS on June 22nd. He made available copies of the literature distributed by the COUNCILS at the meeting and called attention to a mimeographed sheet which he understood had been distributed by unidentified individuals from Georgia. This sheet bears a heading "Thumbs Down" and is unsigned. [REDACTED] related that inquiry had been made by council members of HERMAN TALMADGE as to the propriety of distributing this sheet and TALMADGE had indicated that he knew nothing about it, whereupon council members prevented any further distribution.

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The mimeographed sheet calls for a boycott of certain companies and charges readers to "strike back at the race-mixers! Refuse to patronize those who contribute large sums of money to race mixing organizations and those who insult you and your family by projecting mixed performers right into your living room via radio and television". The sheet then lists various sponsors of ARTHUR GODFREY, a television producer and of EDWARD R. MURROW. The sheet also attacks a number of companies, including the Ford Motor Company, Philip Morris Cigarettes, Kellogg Cereal and Schenley Distilleries, for their contributions to foundations or organizations dealing with Negroes.

The remaining literature distributed by the COUNCILS and made available by [ ] is briefly described below:

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I. BLACK MONDAY

By Tom P. Brady *miss. a/g.*

Copies of this book were sold at the Selma meeting for \$1. The author is identified as a Vice-President of the Mississippi Bar Association and a Circuit Judge of the Fourteenth Judicial District in Mississippi. The book is published by the Association of Citizens Councils, Winona, Mississippi, and it gets its name from the date of Monday, May 17, 1954, upon which date the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a decision on segregation cases on appeal from the States of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia and Delaware. Council leaders have previously referred to the book as a sort of unofficial text for the organization of CITIZENS COUNCILS.

The major portion of the book deals with an analysis of the background of the racial problem with comments on the decision of the Supreme Court. Of interest here, however, is the suggested solution for the problem which outlines the organization that should be set up and defines the aims and purposes of such an organization. The book reads in part---

"The racial question, which is squarely presented by the 'Black Monday' decision of the Supreme Court, is but one vital part of this problem. The great threat to this nation is that of creeping Socialism and Communism. The inter-racial angle is but a tool, a means to an end, in the overall effort to socialize and communize our Government. The grading down of the intelligence quotient of one-third of the people

of this country through amalgamation of the white and Negro race would be a great asset in the communizing of our Government."

The program outlined is as follows---

1. The enactment and enforcement of rigid immigration restrictions.
2. The teaching of children the basic fundamental differences between a Democratic state and a Communist state.
3. Exposure of the Neo-Socialist and Marxian Christians.
4. Conferences with Negro leaders in the seventeen southern states are proposed. It is asserted that "95% or more of the Negro race in the South do not want to be integrated ---all they want is an opportunity to enjoy the privileges and rights which, in many instances, have been denied them. The attitude and intention of these Negro leaders should be ascertained, and a firm and binding agreement reached. These Negroes should likewise be told, in no uncertain terms, what a contest can produce for the Negro in the South." It is suggested that these conferences take place on a county wide basis under the supervision of a state organization.
5. The creation of an organization is proposed with the suggested name of "The National Federation of Sovereign States of America". This organization would include ---

1. A National Board of Directors

- (a) A Political Department

- (1) Constitutional and Legislative Committee

- (b) An Educational Department

- (c) A Religious Department

Further suggested organizational steps would include ---

1. A committee of credentials would operate in each department to prevent infiltration.
2. The National Board would be concerned with coordinating the various state organizations.
3. The state organizations must not be secret and must not resemble in any manner the Ku Klux Klans.
4. The state organizations will be the medium for raising funds necessary for the efficient operation of the plan.
5. An Editorial Bureau consisting of outstanding editors should methodically and consistently supply information to Congress, the Supreme Court and other branches of our Government, truthfully reflecting the situation as it actually exists.
6. Utilization of the Electoral College is recommended to prohibit any Socialist or Communist from becoming President of the United States.
7. The creation of a 49th state, such as on lower California, in Alaska, or in islands of the Pacific, is discussed wherein the Negro would be transported and given the opportunity to develop to the fullest extent of his ability.
8. The National Organization, which it is suggested might be converted into a third national party, is urged to accept as its first objective the enactment of an amendment offered by Senator JAMES O. EASTLUND of Mississippi which reads as follows - "There shall be no interference with or limitations upon the power of any state to regulate health, morals, education, marriage and good order in the state; and exclusive jurisdiction is reserved to the states".
9. It is proposed that the Supreme Court and the office of the Attorney General should be elective.

10. It is proposed that Supreme Court Judges should be required to possess certain qualifications in the way of previous judicial experience.
11. Action recommended for consideration by affected states should include --
  - (a) The immediate repeal of any constitutional requirement requiring children to attend school.
  - (b) The separation of boys and girls in classes.
  - (c) Establish the right of Counties or school districts to adopt rules and regulations governing the membership, attendance, maintenance and operation of the schools.
12. The re-organization of the school system and the use of the referendum is proposed.
13. The abolition of the public schools is recommended if all other methods fail.
14. As a last step, the declaration "of a cold war and an economic boycott", is proposed.
15. A special court is recommended "in which all undesirables, perjurers, subversives, saboteurs and traitors can be promptly tried and punished. The right of trial by jury must be fair and impartial, but it should be speedy. It is deplorable that two or three years must lapse before a traitor can be punished."

## II. A MIMEOGRAPHED SHEET ENTITLED "CITIZENS COUNCILS"

This sheet, signed "Dallas County Citizens Council" outlines the aims and purposes of the Council and calls attention to the fact that the Councils are not secret organizations and membership is open to all white adult male citizens. Aims and purposes are said to be (1) Resisting the announced program of

the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; (2) Maintaining segregation in our public schools, theaters, restaurants, hotels and other public places; (3) Education of our children in the importance of segregation; (4) Maintaining the good relations between the white race and the Negro race that has existed all these years in the Black Belt; (5) To prevent a mongrelized race in the South and (6) Accomplishment of its program without violence.

### III. A PAMPHLET ENTITLED "THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL"

This pamphlet is published by the Association of Citizens' Councils, Winona, Mississippi which also outlines the aims and purposes of the Councils and sets forth information as to the basic organizational structure of the Council.

On July 1, 1955 M. ALSTON KEITH, Chairman of the Dallas County Citizens Council was contacted at which time he outlined the following current activity of the CITIZENS COUNCILS.

A National Organization is presently being formed with headquarters in New Orleans, Louisiana, and it is presently known as the "FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT." One JOHN U. BARR, American Bank Building, New Orleans, is reported to be the head of the organization. It is proposed that two directors will be selected from each state to serve on the National Board. The Alabama delegates have not yet been selected, but those men under consideration are political leaders who were active as States Righters. WALTER C. GIVHAN, State Senator from Dallas County, Alabama, is the Dallas County Delegate to the New Orleans organization. The Dallas County Citizens Council has affiliated with the New Orleans organization. KEITH expects this organization to be active in supporting the candidacy of Governor SHIVERS of Texas for the Presidency, but whether or not this would be through the medium of a third party, he could not say at this time.

The Dallas County Citizens Council is not otherwise affiliated with any other organization, although it cooperates in the exchange of information with organizations in other areas and in other states. KEITH advised that one such organization is the AMERICAN STATES RIGHTS ASSOCIATION, INC., with a temporary address of 2112 First Avenue, North, Birmingham, Alabama. OLIN H. HORTON is president of this organization. KEITH also recalled correspondence with the "Grass Roots League" of South Carolina and with the "Defenders of States Rights" of Virginia.

KEITH noted that the organization of CITIZENS COUNCILS in Alabama at this time includes the following:

<u>COUNTY</u>	<u>CHAIRMAN</u>
Dallas	M. ALSTON KEITH
Perry	DR. LAWRENCE <del>CRAWFORD</del>
Marengo	MR. CHARLES <del>MILLER</del>
Hale	MR. MASON <del>PASCHAL</del>
Autauga	MR. C. D. JACKSON

In addition a Council is reported to have been organized in Macon County, but has been virtually inactive since its organization. A Council is to be organized in Wilcox County and Mr. FRED ~~HENDERSON~~ is presently serving as temporary chairman. Inquiry was received by the Dallas County Council from one ALBERT ~~ELMORE~~, Mobile, Alabama, who sought assistance in organizing a Council in Mobile. KEITH noted, however, that it had appeared to the officers of the Dallas County group that ~~ELMORE~~ was a type of "radical" and not the type they desired to head a Council. It was added that ~~ELMORE~~ has a connection with a group known as THE SOUTHERNERS and has distributed literature entitled "Common Sense" which KEITH considered violently anti-semitic and anti-Catholic.

KEITH continued that at the meeting held in Selma on June 22nd, representatives were present from Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia, but he was not aware of the identity of any individuals from Georgia, who were prohibited from passing out their literature. He noted that the National Citizens Protective Association of St. Louis was unknown to him and he did not know whether representatives were in attendance at Selma. He did recall that [ ] of Atmore, Alabama, was at the meeting and had intended to distribute copies of "Common Sense" and similar literature, but was prevented from doing so by representatives of the CITIZENS COUNCILS. He noted that no plans have been laid for the next meeting although a big rally is planned by the AMERICAN STATES RIGHTS ASSOCIATION, INC. in Birmingham in the near future featuring the same speakers who appeared in Selma.

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KEITH reported that the Dallas County Citizens Council had endeavored to arrange a meeting with Negro leaders

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in Selma in line with the suggestion contained in "Black Monday", but had been rebuffed by the Negro leaders who declined to attend a joint meeting. KEITH advised that these leaders were the officers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

KEITH stated that one matter presently being considered by the officers of the Dallas County Council concerned an article appearing in the Selma Mirror, a Negro publication which he charged contained a grossly untrue article on the first page concerning the trial of a Negro, [REDACTED], who is presently under sentence to death in Alabama. He noted that this is the type of propaganda which the COUNCILS hope to expose.

On July 7, 1955, Mr. TOM STRONG, [REDACTED], advised that he was Executive Secretary of the Dallas County Citizens Council and through his personal acquaintanceship with TOM P. BRADY, he had been largely instrumental in having councils organized in Alabama. He advised there are five active councils at this time, the most recent being formed in Autauga County where C. D. JACKSON, [REDACTED], is chairman. He noted that a council had been formed in Macon County, but due to ineffective leadership, was more or less inactive. He advised that some interest had been indicated in Montgomery County for the formation of a council there.

With reference to the Selma meeting of June 22nd, he recalled that there had been a group from Georgia distributing a printed sheet entitled "Thumbs Down", but the distribution of this sheet had been stopped by council members and the supply of sheets had been seized. He recalled that [REDACTED] of Atmore, Alabama, had been at the meeting and had attempted to take part in the meeting and to distribute literature, but had been prevented from doing so. He stated that [REDACTED] was a most convincing conversationalist and had influenced a number of people in Selma to contribute funds for the further distribution of articles such as "Common Sense". STRONG added that a man whose name he cannot recall, but who he believes is President of the National Association for the Advancement of White People had wired from Columbus, Georgia, prior to the meeting and had requested permission to speak at the rally. He was advised that the program was complete.

STRONG reported that the only item of serious concern to the Council at this time is the distribution of a newspaper by Negroes that contains an article bearing what he described as a grossly untrue perverted account of a Selma police case.

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He referred to a copy of the Selma Mirror, Volume 19, #6, dated June 25, 1955, which makes reference to a Negro, [redacted], and which reads in part as follows:

"Late in 1953 was noted for one of Selma's largest manhunts in the City's history. Someone had raped a white woman, and an armed posse of 200 white citizens went through the City searching for the rapist. It was reported that they broke into homes of negroes, overturned farmers' wagons of cotton in their angered quest for no particular man as long as he was Negro. At this time a dragnet was thrown around this City. [redacted] of Marion (Alabama) was enroute to West Selma to make a social call on his fiancée. His automobile ran out of gasoline and he started walking toward a service station to purchase fuel for his vehicle. He took a short cut through a predominantly white neighborhood and was reported to be in the vicinity of a school. He was soon apprehended by several irate mobsters who held him at gunpoint and marched him to a service station until local law enforcers arrived".

The article continues by alleging that [redacted] was denied counsel and his arrest had been illegal because no warrant was sworn. A plea is made for contributions and [redacted] Negro, was named [redacted] of [redacted] Fund Campaign.

STRONG commented with reference to the above, that during the early part of 1953, there had been a series of night time assaults on white women in Selma. He noted that the incidents took place in the spring of the year and there most certainly would be no "farmers' wagons of cotton" anywhere in the South at that time of the year. He noted that [redacted] was said to be enroute to call upon his fiancée, although in fact, [redacted] was married and had four children in Marion. Further, [redacted] had been apprehended by [redacted] and his wife, white citizens, who were enroute to their home when they observed [redacted] in an alley. STRONG continued that [redacted] was given the services of two prominent white attorneys and subsequently retained two Negro attorneys from Birmingham. He had confessed in considerable detail to the assaults and was found guilty. He is presently under sentence of death, the sentence having been upheld by the Alabama Supreme Court on June 23, 1955.

STRONG observed that Council members resent the propaganda being distributed by the Selma Mirror and consider it



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to be a NAACP influenced project to raise money. He noted that [redacted] is a Negro insurance agent prominent in NAACP activities in Selma, who is presently under indictment for embezzlement of funds obtained in some previous Negro campaign.

STRONG related that the Selma Mirror is believed to be published in Birmingham and to have a state-wide distribution. It appears that the name "Selma" may be inserted in those copies distributed in Selma and that the names of other towns would be inserted depending upon where it was being distributed. He advised that he had ascertained that one [redacted] Selma, has solicited ads for the paper and checks in payment of these ads are endorsed The Selma Mirror, 1100 Broad St., S. G. PHILLIPS, Managing Editor.

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MO 105-121

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

A copy of this report is being furnished the New Orleans, Memphis, Birmingham and Atlanta Offices because of the existence of closely allied activity in the territories covered by those offices.

LEAD

MOBILE DIVISION

AT SELMA, ALABAMA

Will continue to follow and report activity of the CITIZENS COUNCILS in Ala.

REFERENCE

Report of SA JOHN P. BRADY dated 5/18/55 at Mobile.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-33955)

DATE: 10/20/55

FROM : SAC, NEW ORLEANS (44-646)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

91666

Rerep of SA JOHN P. BRADY, July 14, 1955,  
Mobile.

Enclosed for the information of the Bureau is literature printed by captioned organization, which is apparently being circulated throughout Mississippi. The enclosed material was mailed to Resident Agent [redacted] at Meridian, Mississippi. [redacted] advised he has no idea how his name was placed on the mailing list of this organization.

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ENCLOSURE

WMF:js  
(3)AIRMAIL

*Association of Citizens' Councils*  
*The Citizens' Council* Pamphlet  
*News paper*

*memo*  
*11/1/55*  
*let to MO*  
*11/1/55*  
*CFW*  
*let to AAG 3m/line*  
*11/1/55 (FW)*

RECORDED - 4

INDEXED - 4

105-33955-117  
2 OCT 21 1955

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envelope  
10/26/99 60267 NIS/Boe/Amu

ENCLOSURE

105-33955-11

# THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL

AUGUST, 1955

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

WINONA, MISS.

## ANNUAL REPORT

In July 1954, the first Citizens' Council was formed in Indianola by 14 men, who met and counselled together on the terrible crisis precipitated by the United States Supreme Court in its Black Monday decision of May 17, 1954. For the first time in American history, racial segregation, the way of life regulating the daily activities of tens of millions of American citizens, black and white, in a well known pattern of familiar and satisfactory conduct, had been decreed illegal.

Despite the long range dangers to our constitutional safeguards apparent to many men, North, South, East and West, in legislation by judicial fiat, the immediate and pressing danger to men and women in Mississippi and the rest of the South was the potential flood of negro invasion into our schools, parks, swimming pools, restaurants, hotels, trains, buses, into our very neighborhoods and homes, and into public office.

To thoughtful men, concerned for the safety and welfare of their families and children's children, the prospect opened up by this politically inspired decree appeared utterly unthinkable.

The best of prophets of the future is the past. History proves that the supreme power in the government of men has always been public opinion. Public sentiment is the law!

These 14 men, having no idea that such a small beginning would in a few months' time expand miraculously into a virile and potent organization, worked out the basic ideas underlying the Citizens' Councils method of operation.

The idea for the four committees was born: Membership and Finance, Legal Advisory, Political and Elections, Information and Education. Within the scope of these four fields of activity lies the real heart and muscle of the Citizens' Councils.

The idea of solid and unified backing of circuit clerks, sheriffs, and local and state officials in the proper discharge of their sworn duties was worked out.

The concept of assembling non-political community leadership into a unified body to provide the best thinking on the local level, dealing with local problems, became deeply rooted.

It was acknowledged that the impending threat was of such magnitude that our elected officials would be unable to deal with it without the unyielding and organized support of thousands of responsible white citizens to counter the steadily mounting pressure and unceasing attacks from left-wing groups, which were and are liberally financed, skilled in revolutionary techniques that are literally a closed book to most of our political leaders, and irrevocably dedicated to our destruction.

The word spread. Neighboring towns and counties heard of the plan, and began to organize. When some 20 counties had organized themselves, a State Association was formed to coordinate the separate efforts and to act as an information center.

Speakers were made available to carry the message to interested groups and to civic clubs all over Mississippi and

nearby sister states. A steady stream of printed information on the nature of the racial integration crisis was disseminated from the headquarters established at Winona.

The first major accomplishment and the first project undertaken by our Councils on a state level was the passage of the Constitutional Amendment to raise voter qualifications in Mississippi. Although this same amendment failed to pass in 1952, it passed by a tremendous majority when the people of Mississippi, through the Citizens' Councils, were informed of the necessity and reason for the passage of this amendment. It is impossible to estimate the value of this amendment to future peace and domestic tranquility in this state.

Our next major effort was the school amendment. On December 21st of last year the people of Mississippi passed the amendment that gave the Legislature the power to abolish public schools as a last resort in order to prevent racial integration in these schools. In passing this amendment we told the world in no uncertain terms that before we would submit to integration we would abolish our schools and set up state-supported private schools. Against organized opposition, the Citizens' Councils threw their strength behind the passage of this bill. The Council officers felt that if integration came to Mississippi our schools would automatically be destroyed, and we felt that this amendment was merely a legal statement of principle and fact that expressed the sentiment of the people of Mississippi.

During the first year of existence, the Citizens' Councils have shown an impressive statistical growth. Today, in less than a year's time, there are 253 Citizens' Councils in Mississippi, with a white male membership of over 60,000. We have Councils organized in each Congressional District in the State. In addition, we have a ladies' auxiliary and many lady members of various Councils.

The Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, backed by 60,000 members, has received national publicity, and your State Office is now corresponding regularly with interested Americans in forty-six states, Iceland, Alaska, South Africa and Mexico. This is evidence of the potential strength of this movement.

Your State Office has published many fine writings, pamphlets, documents and other literature which give concrete, convincing reasons for the absolute necessity of maintaining segregation in the Nation. We have mailed this literature into all forty-eight states and to every civic and patriotic organization in every county in Mississippi, as well as to interested individuals and public officials in every county in Mississippi and in every state in the Union. We are mobilizing public opinion so that it may express itself from every direction against every attempt at integration. We are attempting to present the case for segregation to the entire Nation, as well as to the South.

Members and officials of the State Association have traveled in nine Southern states telling them what we have accomplished in Mississippi and helping them to organize. We are exchanging ideas and methods to be used in the battle that lies ahead. Citizens' Councils have been formed

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DATE 10/20/99 BY 602107 NLS/BCE/AMW

in Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina. Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina and Missouri have similar organizations. From everywhere comes encouragement and moral support for our righteous cause.

While certain Council members may feel that they have contributed very little as individuals, the fact that they have organized and have developed a voting membership has given your State Office the numbers necessary to prove that we mean business, and their dues have helped finance our statewide movement.

Many of our local Councils have anticipated and prevented racial tensions from developing in their communities. We have proven to our negro citizens that the NAACP is a left-wing, power-mad organ of destruction that cares nothing for the negro. We have the support of the thinking conservative negro people who believe in segregation and who have pride in their race. We want to help them develop racial pride in a segregated society.

Representatives of the State Association have made hundreds of talks and speeches before Councils and groups of all sizes, kinds and descriptions, from the small crossroads school-house meeting attended by 25 God-fearing and determined farmers to massive rallies numbering in the thousands.

Press relations have been established with the newspapers, wire services, radio and TV stations in the state. Editorial support as well as adequate and fair news treatment has been noted. A surge in membership in many Councils in recent months has been attributed to favorable front page news treatment pursuant to the filing of demands by the NAACP upon the public schools in Vicksburg, Jackson, Natchez and Clarksdale.

Independent investigations have been conducted by Councils in some instances in connection with the filing of these demands, and the inroads of the NAACP upon local negro sentiment have been severely checked. School officials have been bolstered considerably by Council efforts in this direction, and by the creation of a strong moral tone of unified public resistance to the arrogant behavior of the NAACP.

An outstanding accomplishment of the Citizens' Council movement that has become increasingly acknowledged is the channelling of popular resistance to integration into lawful, coherent and proper modes, and the prevention of violence or racial tension.

~~The contrast between the right kind of organization and no organization has been particularly noted in some other states which have been slow to take forethought of the future of race relations within their boundaries.~~

### **We Must Strengthen and Build Our**

### **Organization for a Long, Hard Fight . . .**

It is the duty and responsibility of every Citizens' Council member to encourage his friends and relatives in other counties and states to organize so that they can do their part in this righteous cause. Organized aggression must be met with organized resistance. The NAACP, CIO and other left-wing groups are well organized and highly financed. There are 40 million white Southerners and only 250 thousand members of the NAACP in the entire Nation. Forty million white Southerners, or a fraction thereof if properly organized, can be a power in this Nation, but they must be thoroughly organized from the town and county level up. It must be an organization supported and controlled by the people and not by any politician or political party. The Citizens' Councils think and plan as a group and then they are able to act as individuals within their various churches, schools and any

other organization to which they may belong. This has already proven effective in the various church denominations in Mississippi. The issue is segregation and States' Rights. We can not argue and fight among ourselves over methods and personalities.

The Black Monday decision of the Supreme Court should unite the South more solidly than any other issue. Counties and towns that have not organized should take pride in organizing so that others will not have to bear their burden for them. A man should be just as proud to serve in this cause as he would be in military service for this country.

The fate of this Nation may rest in the hands of the Southern white people today. If we white Southerners submit to this unconstitutional judge-made law of nine political appointees, the malignant powers of mongrelization, communism and atheism will surely destroy this Nation from within. Racial intermarriage has already begun in the North and unless stopped will spread to the South.

~~Integration represents darkness, regimentation, totalitarianism, communism and destruction. Segregation represents the freedom to choose one's associates, Americanism, state sovereignty and the survival of the white race. These two ideologies are now engaged in mortal conflict and only one can survive. They cannot be fused any more than day can exist in night. The twilight of this great white nation would certainly follow. "Choose ye this day whom you will serve."~~

R. B. PATTERSON, Executive Secretary

## **FINANCE CHAIRMAN'S REPORT**

From the very beginning your State Office has been and is now operating on a day-to-day basis. How so much has been accomplished is a mystery to me. It speaks well for the patriotism and patience of our Executive Secretary.

Your directors request and urge that all Councils, beginning with January 1, 1956, put their membership on a calendar year basis; collect all dues in November and remit to the State Office at least \$1.00 for each member of each Council. Some Councils, appreciating the great work being done at the state level—and most of the work is being done there—have passed resolutions to remit \$2.00 per member. It is ~~hoped that other Councils will do likewise.~~

If we can get in these dues, all of them, not later than January 1, 1956, we will then know what we have to work with and can budget ourselves accordingly.

Frankly, we must get organized on a business-like basis. Our cause is too vital to have to be worried about whether we can pay salaries and expenses for next week or next month, as has been the case heretofore.

It is the world's tragedy that anyone starting a movement like ours has to battle all the way for funds, whereas anyone starting a left-wing movement advocating mongrelization can get all the financial aid and publicity required. Our fight is moving upstream, and although its progress is slow, this progress is, nevertheless, definite.

Each Council will be sent sufficient 1956 membership cards. These cards are in three parts, one for member, one for local Council, and one for the State Office, and they are numbered. This will be a much better record for all concerned and in addition, the State Office will have the actual name of every member in Mississippi.

ELLETT LAWRENCE, Finance Chairman

## PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE

- Black Monday**—Judge Tom P. Brady's book.....\$1.00  
Pamphlets
- A Christian View on Segregation**—An address by Rev. G. T. Gillespie, D. D., President Emeritus of Belhaven College, Jackson, Mississippi, before the Synod of Mississippi of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S.—\$6.00 per hundred
- Conflicting Views on Segregation**—Reprints of a Series of letters between Dr. D. M. Nelson, President of Mississippi College, Clinton, Mississippi, and an unnamed alumnus—\$6.00 per hundred
- A Review of Black Monday**—An address by Judge Tom P. Brady of the Fourteenth Circuit Court District, made to the Indianola Citizens' Council.—\$5.00 per hundred
- The Citizens' Council**—Its aims, objectives, and plan of organization—\$3.00 per hundred

## TO ALL WHITE MEN AND WOMEN IN JACKSON

(From The Jackson Daily News, Jackson, Miss.)

On Monday the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the radical Negro organization dominated by Communist-front leaders, threw down the gage of battle at Vicksburg. The NAACP states it will file similar petitions demanding the ending of segregation in the public schools in Jackson, Clarksdale and Natchez by August 1st.

Thurgood Marshall, mulatto chief counsel for the NAACP, threatens to sue not only county by county, but school by school, to drive the entering wedge in every community of the land. The NAACP is dedicated to widening this wedge, which was handed them by a subversive Supreme Court, to include integration of the white and Negro races in every conceivable phase of daily life.

Based on the accomplishments of the NAACP to date, there is every reason to expect that an all-out attempt will be made. In concert with their well positioned allies in the CIO-PAC, ADA, Federation Council of Churches, Committee for an Effective Congress, The Advance (Republican ADA), the Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations, and a host of others, we may expect that less resolute sections of the South will permit themselves the humiliation of le-segregation.

Many "liberals" to the contrary notwithstanding, there is nothing mysterious or "inevitable" about the campaign of the NAACP dating from 1909 to accomplish its socialistic aims by de-segregating us. We are simply seeing the results of skilled and ruthless exploitation by leftists of Negro blocoting in the key Northern states.

There is only one way to meet the attack of the NAACP. Organized aggression must be met by organized resistance.

If the declaration of war issued by the NAACP at Vicksburg means anything, it means that a mandate has been uttered at the white people of Mississippi to organize IMMEDIATELY.

In Jackson we are fortunate indeed. A group of public spirited men who did not propose to sit supinely by and say to the NAACP, "Come on and integrate us," formed the Jackson Citizens' Council. In full knowledge of Jackson's position in the state, they made considerable sacrifice of time, effort and resources to give this Council its fine beginning, and to set an example of firmness and determination.

Men like Ellis W. Wright, C. H. (Dick) King, Marvin Hollum and dozens of other civic leaders provided a level-headed and impeccable leadership that any man or woman

should be proud to be identified with, particularly in such a cause.

The Daily News is not alone in urging that immediate organization be formed to wage the fight we are facing.

In a recent speech Senator James O. Eastland said:

"It is essential that a nation-wide organization be set up. It will be a people's organization, an organization not controlled by fawning politicians who cater to organized racial pressure groups. A people's organization to fight the Court, to fight the C.I.O., to fight the N.A.A.C.P., and to fight all the conscienceless pressure groups who are attempting our destruction. We will mobilize and organize public opinion. We will attempt to pledge candidates in advance as they attempt to pledge them.

"We are about to embark upon a great crusade, a crusade to restore Americanism, and return the control of our government to the people. In addition, our organization will carry on its banner the slogan of free enterprise and we will fight those organizations who attempt with much success to socialize industry, and the great medical profession of this country. This will give us recruits and add to our support in the North and West.

"Before God, I now make the people of Mississippi this solemn promise: I will carry it in the North as well as in the South. We have no other alternative. The choice is between victory and defeat. Defeat means death, the death of Southern culture and our aspirations as an Anglo-Saxon people. With strong leadership and the loyalty and fortitude of a great people, we will climb the heights. Generations of Southerners yet unborn will cherish our memory because they will realize that the fight we now wage, will have preserved for them their untainted racial heritage, their culture, and the institutions of the Anglo-Saxon race. We of the South have seen the tides rise before. We know what it is to fight. We will carry the fight to victory."

Clearly and unequivocally, Senator Eastland issues a clarion call for mobilization. It is a call that should not be unheeded. It should sink into the hearts of all Anglo-Saxon people in this community and elsewhere in the South.

The Jackson Citizens' Council has opened its membership drive on a systematic scale. It ought to have 10,000 members, men and women, in Jackson. There is every reason to expect that it will, unless the people of Jackson have forgotten how to recognize the evil face of personal tyranny, and what is more vital, unless they have forgotten how to fight it.

We call on every white man and woman in Jackson, here and now, to declare himself and take his stand. If you believe that segregation provides the only stable arrangement for mutual respect and right conduct between the races, then you owe it to yourself, to your friends and neighbors, and to your children and grandchildren, and to those yet unborn, to get in touch immediately with the Jackson Citizens' Council headquarters at the Walthall Hotel and JOIN NOW.

The clock is about to strike. It is already 11:30.

FREDERICK SULLENS

## LAND OF ONE RACE

"In Brazil, you will find blue eyes and black skin, flat skulls with triangular faces, hair plaited in pigtailed, white babies at the breasts of colored mothers, colored babies at the breasts of white mothers and colors running from ebony to eggshell via copper, olive, caramel, and banana.

"A mixture of this sort has made any attempt at racial

segregation out of the question in Brazil—because no one could possibly tell where white begins and black ends.

"Brazil has long since passed the rest of the world in its race relations. The so-called race problem simply does not exist in Brazil." —Washington Afro-American News.

Is this to be the fate of our beloved Nation, decreed by nine political appointees to impress the Asiatics and using as their authority the writings of Socialist and Communist tinged authors?

This amalgamation has already begun in the North, but it can be checked by an aroused public opinion to nullify this infamous BLACK MONDAY decree.

\$1.50 per 100 reprints of above.

## OUR OWN NEWSPAPER

For quite some time, your Directors have been studying the feasibility of a newspaper for the Citizens' Councils. They have long realized that a paper would be the very best medium possible for the dissemination of news for and about your Council.

However, starting a newspaper is a big undertaking. It costs a lot of money. In addition, it would necessitate the

employment of additional help since Mr. Patterson is already doing the work of some three or four men.

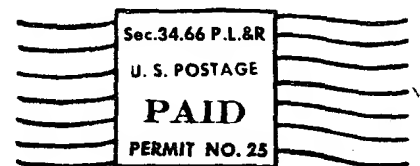
This newspaper would have still been in the "studying stage" had it not been that Mr. W. J. "Bill" Simmons, unpaid Administrator of the State Council and secretary of the Jackson Citizens' Council, offered at a meeting of the board of directors on Tuesday, August 25, 1955, to edit this paper without salary. Your directors fell all over themselves to accept this proposition.

Publication will begin in September (October at the latest). It is hoped that this paper can be put into the hands of every member of the Citizens' Councils in Mississippi—and also every white citizen of Mississippi—and will grow into the official organ of all the Citizens' Councils in the nation.

Naturally, this paper cannot be published except on a subscription basis, and it would seem that the best way to handle this subscription would be to have each Council contact their members and send the subscriptions in a lump. The subscription price has been set at \$2.00 per year, the lowest figure possible since no advertising will be accepted.

If preferred, you can send your subscription direct to Mr. W. J. Simmons, Administrator, Room 203, Walthall Hotel, Jackson, Mississippi.

ASSOCIATION OF  
CITIZENS' COUNCILS  
WINONA, MISS.



*Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility in our Community and in our State and to the preservation of our State's Rights.*





# THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL

*Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility in our Community and in our State and to the preservation of our States' Rights.*

Vol. I, No. 1

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS, OCTOBER, 1955

Jackson, Miss.

## To All Citizens' Council Members

### IN MISSISSIPPI

"The Citizens' Council" is your newspaper, and your State Directors in authorizing its publication, did so with the feeling that the great majority of our members want such a paper and will subscribe to it.

As an introduction, every effort is being made to place a free copy of this issue in the hands of each member.

The best way for Council members to handle their subscriptions is for the local Council to vote to subscribe for the entire membership. Many Councils have already done this. When this is done, the secretary should forward to the Jackson office in the Walthall Hotel the membership list with proper addresses and remittance at \$2.00 per member.

Subsequent issues will be mailed direct to each member.

### TO OTHER STATES

To all Citizens' Council members in Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Alabama, and South Carolina; to members of: Tennessee Society For The Maintenance of Segregation; Tennessee Federation For Constitutional Government; Amer-

## Mississippi Citizens' Councils Are Protecting Both Races

EDITOR'S NOTE—The following is the first in a series of three articles, which were carried on the front pages of the Charleston, S. C., News and Courier, and are the only articles appearing to date by a writer who has studied the Citizens' Council movement sufficiently to speak with authority.

By Thomas R. Waring  
*Editor of The News and Courier*

JACKSON—Citizens' Councils, 60,000 strong and growing fast, are mobilizing Mississippi to guard both whites and Negroes.

Their aim is to preserve separation of the races against assaults from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in alliance with the federal government. At the same time, they are dedicated to protect the rank and file of Negroes from the wrath of ruffian white people who may resort to violence.

"Economic pressure," a method of combating Negro pressure from the North, is not organized by the Councils. Individuals who belong to councils may have persuaded Negroes to remove their names from school integration petitions by various means short of violence. These means could include firing employes, or refusing to renew leases for sharecroppers who have followed the NAACP line.

If such tactics have been used—and there seems little doubt

ple of the state. The council policy is to screen members carefully for character and dependability, as well as for their determination to keep the races separate.

At the last count, 263 councils had been organized throughout the state. They start at the grass roots level as a sort of town meeting. Neighbors get together and form a council. Its leaders make up a county organization. The counties then are grouped by congressional districts. Each district elects members of a state association.

The association has set up an office here to help the movement spread. It publishes pamphlets and soon will start a monthly newspaper. There is no state chairman. Nominal leadership rotates among the directors. Robert B. Patterson of Winona is executive secretary and W. J. Simmons of Jackson is administrator.

Expenses so far have been held to a minimum because most of the work has been voluntary. The local councils are autonomous. They expect only advice from the state association. The association urges, however, that annual dues of members be set at \$5 of which \$2 is sent to support state headquarters.

## Probe By Assembly Of NAACP At State College Proposed

*News And Courier*

ORANGEBURG, S. C. (Special)—An investigation of activities of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People among the faculty and students of State College by the South Carolina General Assembly was asked here last night.

Meanwhile, the Rev. Matthew D. McCollum, president of Orangeburg NAACP chapter, was quoted by a Negro newspaper as saying all NAACP and allied records of the chapter have been destroyed.

Rep. Jerry M. Hughes, in calling for the investigation, said:

"Such an investigation would determine who are members and sympathizers of the NAACP among the faculty and student body, the extent of such member participation in such activities and whether or not its members are misleading the Negro citizens and misrepresenting the aims and objectives of the NAACP to the Negro people."

He added that the investigation, which he will seek in the next term, would determine whether or not the activities of members of

ed about the article, said he would not deny making the statements to representatives of the Negro newspaper. "I have no comment to make," he stated.

Sheriff George L. Reed said Rev. McCollum has not reported any death threats to his office. "We haven't heard a thing from him," Sheriff Reed said.

Another article appearing in the same issue of Afro-American reported that Negroes were boycotting stores "suspected of supporting the Citizens' Council's economic pressure campaign against persons who signed an integration petition."

The article bylined John H. McCray, said 23 Orangeburg merchants were named on a "Do Not Patronize" list of NAACP leaders.

McCray reported that the store believed heaviest hit by the "boycott" is an exclusive women's apparel store "for many years patronized by women who teach at S. C. State and Claflin Colleges and the public school in and around Orangeburg."

McCray also wrote, "campaigns among school children have been organized and these are advocated

We want you to feel that "The Citizens' Council" is your newspaper just as much as it is for Mississippians. It could just as easily have originated in South Carolina or another state. There is no pride of origin or pride of publication.

"The Citizens' Council" is simply designed to serve a useful purpose, to provide a means of exchanging authoritative information among the responsible movements throughout the South, and to present, at least in a small way, something of the Southern viewpoint to our friends, and to some not so friendly, in the North and West.

There are already established official correspondents for our paper with some of your organizations, and we trust that by the time our next issue goes to press the roster will be complete.

Every effort is being made to place a free copy of this issue in the hands of each member of your groups.

The subscription method being followed by many of the Mississippi Councils is also suggested for your states.

#### TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC

"The Citizens' Council" is being offered, of course, to the public at large. It is by no means limited to circulation among members. All members are being encouraged to spread the circulation as much as possible outside the Councils in the hope that a better understanding of the aims and purposes of the Council movement will result, and that a great deal of misinformation, intentional or unintentional, will be corrected.

A much larger hope is that a wider understanding of the deadly attack upon our society will result, and that the Council movement will gain added momentum among patriotic Americans.

councils have served to channel public feeling away from violence and toward an orderly handling of race relations in a state where whites and Negroes are evenly divided.

Especially do they deny NAACP charges that the councils have created an atmosphere that incites murder and lynching. In fact, they cite instances in which they have prevented bloodshed.

This article is the first of three articles prepared after an on-the-spot inspection of Citizens' Councils in Mississippi by the editor of The News and Courier. It tells how the councils are set up and how they operate.

A quick check of citizens here, without attempt at completeness, indicates a generally favorable public opinion. Even though the "man in the street" may be hazy about the council methods, he approves of resisting attempts to mingle white and Negro people in public schools and elsewhere.

Opposition to the councils appears to be centered among some members of the clergy, who have accepted the idea of race equality as a Christian principle, and others whose interest in the public schools is so intense they regard public education as more important than racial separation. Some opponents still are relying on legal action in the courts for amicable settlement of the problem.

Everybody questioned, however, agreed on one thing: The leadership of the Jackson Citizens' Council, with 1,100 members, represents the best citizens in this capital city of 116,000 population. Not even the clergyman, who called the movement a "tragedy," had a word to say against the caliber of the officers and directors of the Jackson unit.

Spokesmen for the council say that for the most part, councils throughout Mississippi are equally representative of the best people

studying its operations and, transferring with its leaders, this observer from South Carolina believes the councils are both sound and decent, and loaded with power for good. More details will be told in articles to follow this one.

#### CARTER'S "MIDDLEGROUND"

By John Temple Graves

"Alone, alone—all, all alone,  
Alone on a wide, wide sea. . ."

My nationally distinguished friend Hodding Carter hinted to Duke University's commencement audience how "lonely and beset" his "middle ground" makes him and what penalties his "combative journalism" imposes on him.

Hodding should be of good cheer—and count his blessing!

The fine art of not following things through on the desegregation situation, which he calls the "middle ground," has worked well for him, North and South. As for his "combative journalism" the penalties are small in comparison with the rewards reaped.

He has no inkling of what the real Taboo can be.

If his Mississippi legislature got mad at him and enabled him to tell it to "go to hell" before his national audience, the legislators had good cause.

Instead of using his national audience to tell the nation how tragic a situation has been forced on the South by the desegregation decision—and he admits it is tragic—he confines himself to criticizing measures being taken to relieve the situation, at the same time giving a lip service to segregated schools. A "middle ground" like his is enough to make any troubled legislature mad.

A man so able to eat his cake and have it too isn't very "beset", it seems to me.

A man who manages to get applause in most of the North and half of the South is a glutton for company if he still feels "lonely."

members and after several efforts were made my unnamed residents (in Orangeburg) to obtain the list."

The article also stated that Rev. McCollum claimed he had received numerous threats against his life but "had fortified his home against invasion by hangers of the white Citizens' Council local chapter, furiously waging a death war with the NAACP in Orangeburg." Rev. McCollum, when questioned

local firms exerting economic pressures, unless it has no alternatives."

W. T. C. Bates, president of the Orangeburg Citizens' Council, said last night that any boycott planned by the NAACP is "a sure way for us to get the names of NAACP members and supporters of this un-American group. Boycott or no boycott, Orangeburg schools will continue to operate on a segregated but equal basis."

## Senator Olin D. Johnston Backs Citizens' Councils

### MEMBERSHIP NOT PROHIBITED BY HATCH ACT

ORANGEBURG S. C.—Henry D. Richardson, Orangeburg post office clerk, has made public a letter from the office of Sen. Olin D. Johnston saying the senator was heartily in favor of Citizens' Councils as a method of fighting the integration of schools.

Mr. Richardson had written Sen. Johnston to ask if his membership in a Citizens' Council was a violation of the Hatch Act or rules of the Civil Service Commission.

Mr. Richardson received his answer from H. W. Bawley, executive director at Sen. Johnston's office. It said in part:

"I have been advised by the Civil Service Commission that your joining this organization will not violate the Hatch Act or any other act in regard to Civil Service Employees' outside affiliations.

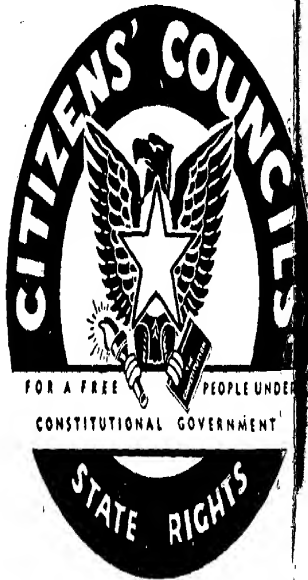
"In talking with Senator Johnston before he left the city, he stated emphatically that, had the Commission ruled that it would be a violation of the Hatch Act or Civil Service regulation, he would have immediately taken steps to remove such legislation from the

laws of the country. He also expressed his absolute agreement with the principles of the various Citizens' Councils that are being organized throughout South Carolina."

### ECONOMIC PRESSURE

An organization calling itself "Help Negro Entertainers Get Employment" has started a post card campaign demanding that TV networks hire more negro entertainers (as if there were not already too many) on sponsored shows. All negroes are asked to boycott television-advertised products unless the sponsors use negro performers. The first flood of postcards was aimed at the Jackie Gleason show, which the outfit charged, never uses negroes. The cards asked that readers refuse to buy Nestle Company products as Gleason is sponsored by Nestles.

The NAACP has advanced one of its former officials into an executive job on the President's staff at the White House. The Negro's name is Everett Frederick Morrow and his selection was made by Sherman Adams.



Official Publication of the

## CITIZENS' COUNCILS

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Subscription \$2.00 a year — payable in advance.

W. J. SIMMONS.....Editor

The Citizens' Council is not responsible for the return of unsolicited articles, manuscripts or other materials submitted for possible publication. All such matter should be accompanied by a self-addressed stamped envelope if a return of such material is desired.

## Mississippi Councils Complete Organization By Congressional Districts

During September, in a series of meetings by Congressional Districts held at Indianola, Starkville, Winona, Canton and Port Gibson, pursuant to a recommendation of the State Executive Committee, the organization of Councils by counties and districts was com-

Lowndes Walter Swoope, Colum-  
bus—real estate and insurance  
Noxubee W. S. Mullins, Prairie  
Point—planter  
Oktibbeha Horace Harned, Jr.,  
Starkville—planter, state sen-  
ator  
Winston Dini Chapman, Louis-  
ville—attorney

### SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

#### Executive Committee

M. L. Branch, Winona—planter  
M. P. Moore, Senatobia—cattle-  
man

## Best Defense Is Good Offense, Lake City Citizens' Council Told

By Eldridge Thompson  
News and Courier Roving  
Reporter

LAKE CITY, S. C. "The best defense is often a good offense," Hugh G. Grant of Augusta, Ga. said at a meeting of the Lake City Citizens' Council.

"A vigorous counter-attack should be started immediately in South Carolina and in every other state in which the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is attempting to force racial integration," he said.

Addressing about 400 people, Mr. Grant, former U. S. minister to Albania and Thailand, said "the sovereign rights of our people are in great danger. The integrity of both white and Negro races is jeopardized since the ultimate goal of the NAACP is complete integration."

Mr. Grant said the white citizens of this state should organize in every community and county. Every white citizen should be asked to "stand up and be counted on this issue," he said. "There is no middle ground. You are either for or against segregation."

Mr. Grant said delaying tactics are not sufficient. "This battle to preserve the segregation pattern must be fought on a national level as well as within the state.

"This can be accomplished only through widespread grassroots organization," Mr. Grant said. "The voices of millions of white citizens must reach the floors of Congress."

The Georgia Citizens' Council leader urged the group here to insist by contact with their senators and representatives to support the resolution introduced by Sen. Eastland of Mississippi calling for an investigation of mem-

I dislike people who are of the school of waiting and hoping. We must openly and vigorously launch our offensive against those who would destroy our way of life."

## The Myth Of 'World Opinion'

News and Courier

Citizens of the Southern region of the United States, mocked and abused for political reasons by their own countrymen, can sympathize with the race problems of South African white men. The proportion of blacks in that country is much greater than in the Southern states of this republic. Measured in terms of population, its problems are greater than ours.

The South African Observer, published at Cape Town, has this to say about the picture of South Africa being given to the outside world.

"In our era of the conditioned proletariat, those who own and control the press throughout the world are able to guide and misguide at will. This is particularly evident in the treatment of foreign news. Every journalistic trick is used to arouse feeling against any country marked out as the enemy.

"United Nations, Unesco, the empires of Wall Street and Moscow and their dupes, viz. internationalists, liberals, liberal-democrats and leftists generally, have marked out South Africa as an enemy because it is a bastion of white conservatism; because it

## Reunion of Redhead With Tan Hubby, via Kisses in Union Station Is Shocking

From The Pittsburgh Courier  
(Negro Newspaper)

Already shy of 50,000 male marital prospects, the Capital's supply of eligible men for tan girls was further decimated, beginning in the late "forties" with a sudden resumption of plural inter-racial marriages.

On the very night that one of the biggest administrative bigots of the city was shouting defiance at the "rising tide of jungle-breeds" in D. C., his very own daughter, then 24, was registered on an all-night uptown hotel interlude with a famous jazz musician of a famous orchestra.

While the president of a Dixie-focused civic association was screaming at the U. S. Supreme Court, while it weighed the restrictive covenant codes, or exclaimed, in loud tones: "... they shall not squat here," four Negro women and fifteen Negro men had filed for interracial marriage licenses in the municipal court house (civil side) on E Street, N. W.

On a sunny October afternoon, in 1953, at the huge Washington terminal, a dazzling, dashing Nordic redhead ... about five feet, nine inches tall ... weighing about 130 pounds, wearing a black, silken dress that held on tightly, going 'round the curves, matched with shoes and gloves ... attracted the attention of the usual thousands found therein.

Eyes, trained on her, blinked with mounting interest.

Impetuously, she suddenly lunged into the arms of a chocolate

State Executive Committee to include the many new counties which have organized during recent months and to take preliminary steps toward setting up district lines of responsibility. It is felt that this will materially strengthen and make more efficient various administrative procedures.

There was remarkable enthusiasm and determination shown at every district meeting, as indicated by the fact that every single organized county in Mississippi was represented by local chairmen or alternates.

The meetings were conducted by Robert B. Patterson, Executive Secretary, and all followed a similar agenda as listed below:

1. Explanation of District Organization in each Congressional District.
2. Designation of County Chairman or Director from each county.
3. Election of State Executive Committeemen. (2 or 3 depending upon number of counties organized in each District.)
4. Election of District Chairman.
5. Reregistration of all county voters.
6. The absentee ballot.
7. Discussion of the District Legal Advisory Committee and District Information and Education Committee.
8. Membership.
9. The Citizens' Council Newspaper.

#### FIRST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

##### Executive Committee

John B. Cunningham, Brooksville—planter and merchant  
Will E. Ward, Starkville—attorney

##### District Chairman

Eugene J. Hardy, Columbus—planter

##### County Chairmen

Attala H. E. Jenkins, Sallis—school superintendent

Late John M. Calicut, Coldwater—planter, mayor  
Tallahatchie Harvey Pennington, planter, state senator  
Carroll Bernard Sanders, Vaiden—planter, hardware store

Yalobusha S. A. Swearingen, Oakland—planter

Montgomery M. L. Branch, Winaona—planter

Grenada C. C. Carpenter, Grenada—planter

#### THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

##### Executive Committee

Wilburn Hood, Lexington—merchant, planter, insurance, state representative

Fred Jones, Inverness—planter, board of supervisors, ex-senator

Pete F. Williams, Sr., Clarksdale—wholesale grocer

##### District Chairman

Edd Britt, Indianola—planter, cotton ginner

##### County Chairman

Leflore W. S. Curry, Itta Bena—lumber company

Tunica John Dulaney, Jr., Tunica—attorney

Coahoma Eddie Peacock, Clarksdale—banker

Bolivar Guy Simpson, Shaw—lumber company

Washington Martin Heard, Leeland—real estate, insurance

Sunflower C. K. Holland, Sunflower—planter

Holmes William Moses, Lexington—auto dealer

Humphreys Gladstone Mortimer, Belzoni—auto dealer

Quitman Just organized

#### FOURTH AND SIXTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

##### Executive Committee

Fred A. Anderson, Jr., Gloster—attorney, lumberman

Judge Tom P. Brady, Brookhaven—circuit judge

Ellis W. Wright, Jackson—funeral director

##### District Chairman

Edgar A. McCaa, Port Gibson—REA manager

to manage their own affairs without federal interference, then I favor the formation of an independent party before the 1956 election," Mr. Grant declared.

The Augusta man said that ministers, regardless of their church affiliation, should support the South's moves to retain segregation. "Any preacher, Baptist, Methodist or what have you, who favors integration should be asked by his congregation to move on to other parts," Mr. Grant said.

He told the Lake City audiences that the Ku Klux Klan is not the answer to the segregation fight. "I detest violence of any kind but

#### County Chairmen

Hinds Ray Cannada, Edwards—planter

Yazoo Nick Roberts, Yazoo City—merchant

Claiborne Lewis N. Ellis, Port Gibson—store manager

Jefferson W. M. Drake, Church Hill—cotton merchant

Adams George Gullledge, Natchez—dept. supt., Armstrong Tire & Rubber Co.

Franklin Robert B. Haltom, Roxie—lumberman

Amite Charlie Barron, Smithdale—merchant

Lincoln Hugh Mitchell, Brookhaven—manager Creosote plant

Walthall Edd Duncan, Tylertown—county superintendent of education

Jeff Davis Dewey Meyers, Prentiss—cold storage, oil, packing house

#### FIFTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

##### Executive Committee

J. O. Hollis, Carthage—attorney

Marion Simpson, Canton—sheriff

##### District Chairman

Jack Armstrong, Jr., Forkville

##### County Chairmen

Madison G. B. Herring, Canton—attorney

(Continued on Page 3)

opinion'. A captive and controlled press—with its fellow vehicles of propaganda, the radio and the cinema—has succeeded in endowing this meaningless term with a mystic quality and made a fetish . . . "World opinion today is not the opinion of the peoples of the world. It is a highly unreal myth manufactured and purveyed by the press, the radio, television and the news agencies. It is Moscow's and Wall Street's instrument for liberalizing conservatism, reddening liberalism and communizing labour.

"World opinion welcomes the destruction of white nations, supports the national struggles of black and brown men. It hails the end of segregation of black and white—a segregation that men by their very nature seek and prefer. It sees nothing wrong with British women being sired by blacks. Englishmen becoming colored.

"If South Africa were to submit to world opinion, even as enunciated by Adlai Stevenson, whose intellectual equipment and moral character are so much revered by The Cape Times, it is easy to guess where it would lead us. Mr. Stevenson is the representative of the USA's Democrats—a political hotchpotch of assorted bedfellows, most of whom hate most of the others. Just examine something of that party's record—a party very largely dominated and directed by persons of Eastern European origins:

"It recognized (1933), courted, made deals with Russia and Stalin, saving the crumbling Communist economy at that time.

"It is the party primarily responsible for establishing the communist grip on the world today.

"It is the party that handed treasury printing blocks to Russia and planned to establish an

hesitating crowd that bordered on confusion, as the duo, arm in arm and apparently very happy in reunion, boarded a taxicab on the Massachusetts Avenue elevation of the terminal and sped away.

atom bomb factory in Russia after the war.

"It is the party that employed, encouraged and protected Communist personnel in high places in the U. S. Government, Treasury, Uno, Unesco and every international agency.

"It was responsible for Yalta and Teheran.

"It left Russia astride Europe and Asia after the war and gave her Manchuria. It disarmed Chiang Kai-Shek and virtually handed over China to the Communists.

"It plotted the destruction of the British Commonwealth, and under the cloak of 'anti-colonialism,' built up a dollar empire.

"It was responsible for Hiroshima . . . Nagasaki . . . Dresden.

"It was responsible for the Korean debacle.

"It packed the courts to put through its New Deal policy.

"It flooded the Northern cities with Negroes for their votes, and is primarily responsible for enforced integration of white and black in the USA today."

"World opinion" as described by The South African Observer is opposed to the Southern states of North America—at least, as that opinion is reflected by the metropolitan press. Today the white people of South Africa and the white people of the Southern states are the targets of many critics. Those critics do not live with the same race problems that exist in the two regions. The pressures against the Southerners of Africa and North America seem to take on some of the same vicious character that the critics themselves deplore.



gs—planter

3. The County Chairman: This officer maintains contact with all local chairmen within his county and with the District Chairman. He should be able to contact any neighboring County Chairman when necessary. He should be able to contact the District Executive Committee at any time for advice or to make recommendations.

We particularly approve and support the visit of the

When a fellow tribesman was slain by rivals, the witch doctor immediately sprang into action. He ordered the victim's mangled body displayed for all to see. As infuriated tribesmen filed by, the dead one's family sobbed and moaned. Meanwhile the witch doctor screamed, raved and ranted. In the language of Churchill—this was his finest hour.

And last but not least, that is why the American concept of justice and fair play will never hold innocent persons responsible for

A majority of school boards throughout the State have taken the position that segregation will continue in the 1955 school term.

to serve on the District Information and Education Committee. It is suggested that these selections include Educators, Doctors, Ministers, Newspapermen or others who have training in research and dissemination of information. These men should be devoted to our cause and should have the time to give to thought and action on this committee.

The purpose of this Committee is to devise means of nullifying the tremendous propaganda assault being waged against the minds of our young people and our citizens. It is hoped that the good influence of this committee will be felt in our schools, our churches, our homes, our radio programs, our newspapers, our State Legislature and eventually in our moving pictures, our Federal Government and in every other media possible.

This Committee should meet from time to time as necessary and make recommendations to the County Chairmen or the State Executive Committee.

#### THE DISTRICT LEGAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Each County Chairman with the recommendation of his Board of Directors is asked to submit the name of one man from his county to serve on the District Legal Advisory Committee. This selection should be a prominent lawyer and preferably the Chairman of your County Legal Advisory Committee.

The purpose of this Committee is to devise legal means for preventing integration. Many legal problems that will arise in the future can be anticipated and solved by this committee. This Committee will be expected to furnish legal advice to counties within their District, and to the State Association. Various legal information and advice pertinent to our great problem will be submitted to this committee from time to time for their information.

tional Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The action of the Legal Education Advisory Committee is in the finest tradition of constitutional American government, backed by ample historical precedent. Many of us have long realized that the most logical and in fact the only, course of action designed to meet head on the continuing crisis forced upon us by the creeping socialists and racemixers is one based upon a positive assertion of our State's Rights.

The clearest and most immediate danger arising from the assault upon the South is of course that of racial integration. Your actions are calculated to meet that threat with a sharp counter-attack. But we trust that the deep significance of your historic legislative proposals, insofar as they suggest a pattern of future action in dealing with the entire question of unconstitutional seizure of powers by enemies of the American Republic acting within departments of the federal government, will not be lost upon our people.

A giant stride has been made on our side of the struggle, and we are heartened by this evidence of courageous and intelligent leadership. We offer the full and active support of our Council in implementing your program.

#### REVERSE PETITION ON

In Santee, S. C., fourteen of the 21 negroes who signed an NAACP anti-segregation petition which was presented to the school trustees, later put their signatures on a counter petition FOR SEGREGATION circulated by the Citizens' Council. The NAACP did not understand what the NAACP petition meant and that they were confused by a high pressure agitator brought in by the NAACP.

man and child must pay. All are bad and all are guilty!"

That was years ago, in darkest Africa. Yet our nation has just heard almost identical utterances in the violent statements from NAACP's headquarters in New York City. True these outbursts did not urge bloodshed, but the leaders must have been aware that it might easily result from this angry outburst.

**The Nation Was Shocked At The Fury of a senseless Mississippi crime.** It was further shocked by the carefully-staged Congo circus at a Chicago funeral home, where the youngster's last rites were used as an occasion to collect funds for promoting further racial strife and perhaps to fatten the wallets of agitators.

For a brief time it appeared as if the witch doctors and their associates might be entirely successful in employing jungle techniques to incite mass hatreds, and perhaps violence. They had all the cards necessary, but failed, possibly because they do not really understand their people. Like other Americans the great majority of Negroes apparently want no part of Congo concepts.

**Thousands of Respectable Negroes** who viewed Till's remains were understandably disturbed and indignant. Yet to their eternal credit they kept their heads and refrained from rash actions which would only have complicated an already deplorable situation. If the ill-considered Chicago demonstration was intended to touch off more violence, it failed in its purpose.

Analyzing possible motives, it is conceivable that the funeral frenzy was deliberately contrived to further aggravate the situation in Mississippi. Had federal intervention been necessary to preserve order here, nothing on earth

forever rides in vain.

**Hodding Carter is plump—and rides with profit and applause.**

But his heroics begin to look a bit foolish—even up North.

In a fascinating second piece about himself (as the South) in the current Look Magazine he tells how lonely and ganged-up-on he is—and at the same time how his Southern mail runs three to two in his favor and his national 10 to one, and how sociable people are with him at home.

He speaks of "venomous attacks on (his) freedom of the press" even as he prints proudly his front page editorial freely telling the Mississippi Legislature to go to hell for denouncing him (advising his Look audience as freely meanwhile that "a Mississippi legislative majority is mentally and morally incapable of insulting anybody.")

But it is when he writes of himself as "this battered Episcopalian" that he just about breaks your heart—or something.

Mr. Carter was turkey-hunting with four friends in his private boat with a private cook when the cruel words of the Mississippi Legislature were raved to him. A simple man at simple play—cut down in his prime by a horrid, sweaty legislative majority merely because he chose to tell tales up North rather than help down South.

I continue to believe Mr. Carter a gentleman who honestly doesn't think things through and is sincerely unaware of his convenient and highly profitable inconsistencies. But I suspect that a time has come when he must stop and think.

And, also, do something about his ego.

The founders of the American government sought to curb the depravities of human nature by limiting the powers of those who governed.

fen the spines of Texans who expect to exhaust every legal source in preserving segregation and prevent, if possible, hot-headed and illegal organizations from taking the matter into their own hands.

The turning of the tide from abject surrender to active resistance is believed to have been inspired largely by the insolent and overbearing attitude of the brown boys in this National Association for the Agitation of Colored People who got drunk on what they thought was power of their race over white people's institutions and who acted accordingly.

The people of Texas, like those of the Deep South, have always been extremely fond of good Negroes and have been their best, and only, friends among the people of the forty-eight States of the American Union.

But in the final analysis and when the chips are down, they just don't go much for arrogant Mulattoes who come barging into the State from out of the East making threats, giving out insulting interviews through the press and issuing orders to school boards, before rolling away in long black Cadillacs.

This big-shot behavior backfired with a bang that reverberated throughout the State and provided a needed shot-in-the-arm to apathetic Texans and served as a warning of what the future might hold unless the citizens went into action and asserted their Constitutional rights. They are doing that now.

While the matter is far from settled, it is now clear that Texas, along with other States in the South, will exhaust every legal resource available in resisting the attempt of a Marxist-conscious Supreme Court to bring about mongrelization of the white race by judicial ruling.

# Conflicting Views On Segregation

Dr. D. M. Nelson, President  
Mississippi College  
Clinton, Mississippi

Dear Sir:

You have met me only once, last May, at chapel services at Mississippi College. I accompanied my pastor, and one or two others from our church. I was introduced to you in your office prior to the chapel service. It was I who accompanied at the organ.

Today I received a package of materials from the Citizens Council of Mississippi. I was greatly surprised to find that the President of Mississippi College had written an article that was either with or without his permission included in this package.

I now speak only my own convictions, but convictions that I believe are held by a rapidly growing multitude of Southern Baptists. I was born in Arkansas and reared in the south. While a student at college I was associated with many students who I am sure would disagree with your views on the race question. Then later, while I was a student at the Seminary, our professor, taught a course in race relations; I am convinced that he would not agree with your views on the race question.

I am enclosing in this letter some pamphlets published by the Christian Life Commission of our Southern Baptist Convention. I am inclined to believe, and sincerely hope that these come nearer representing the convictions of our denomination than does your pamphlet included in the Citizens Council material.

Without question you are far

August 31, 1955

Mr. Robert  
Minister of Music and Education  
Dear Brother :

I have read your letter with interest and conflicting emotions. You can imagine my deep regret that my views on the mixing of the races can not be in accord with yours nor of your schoolmates nor of some of your teachers.

No, Robert, I do not claim to speak for Mississippi Baptists or Southern Baptists. As its long-time president, I do claim the right to speak for Mississippi College, and when the occasion presents itself and the interest of the college demands it, I do respond promptly and as correctly as the light given me and study and long experience direct me.

## Bible Does Not Justify Integration

It is my considered judgment, free from personal bias and prejudice, that the mixing and mingling of the equally numbered white and colored races in the public schools of Mississippi poses the most serious situation which this state has ever faced. And what aggravates it and adds to the difficulty of solution, so many of our religious leaders like you, are trying to justify integration on religious grounds and to make it appear that segregation is Bible condemned and un-Christian. Such a position is untenable and cannot be sustained either by the Word or the works of God, and must, therefore, fall of its own weight.

## Evolution Fad

At the turn of the present century, as this writer can remember, the disturbing word was "evolution." The theory grew out of the

## UN DELGATE URGES GIFTS FOR THE NAACP

Cleveland, Ohio — Charles H. Mahoney, negro U. S. delegate to the United Nations General Assembly, told the convention of the National (negro) Insurance Association to get ready for a fully race-mixed society. Mahoney ominously stated: "The recent U. S. Supreme Court anti-segregation ruling has implications no one can follow. It doesn't rest with schools or parks or playgrounds." He ended his speech by urging all negro insurance companies to give \$1,000 to the NAACP. Did Ike appoint this negro to the UN—to run around at the American taxpayers' expense soliciting funds for the NAACP?

## MONGRELIZERS' WRATH DESCENDS ON DR. PEALE

In his nationally syndicated column, the Rev. Norman Vincent Peale, famous clergyman from New York, gives advice on personal problems. In a recent column he advised a negro not to marry a white person. Dr. Peale didn't know what hit him. He was torn to shreds by the NAACP and allies in bitter personal vituperation. At last reports he had refused to back down to appease the wrath of the race-mixers. It is later than we think when a prominent and highly respected man of God is savagely attacked for opposing miscegenation.

## Integration Communist Inspired

The big word today, Robert, which is Communist inspired, is not evolution, but "integration". As the evolutionist would unify life by reducing it to a common origin, the cell, so the integrationist would break down all racial barriers and merge all classes and nationalities and races into one

# Integration Poll

By H. L. SULLIVAN

A Special Writer Savannah, Ga.  
Here is what I believe to be a final summing up of the South's racial dilemma, together with one rational solution.

This solution is based on one significant proposal of the South Carolina "Committee of 52" in its report to the General Assembly. If this solution is too much trouble, then the sooner we obey the new so-called "law of the land," the better. Let the South eliminate the white race as something not even evil or pernicious, but as something merely too troublesome to be annoyed with. In short, it is not worth preserving.

1. We know that the Fourteenth Amendment was secured by force and fraud and therefore was not a true expression of the will of the people.

2. We know, as Sen. Russell has stated, that the May 17 (1954) edict was based on the writing of left-wing "psychologists." Sen. Eastland has fully documented this charge, and has also proven that Myrdal's "An American Dilemma" (the main basis of the court edict) was virtually a project of the NAACP. The court justices themselves, according to Eastland, have many personal ties with leaders of the NAACP, not to mention the many awards received by them from the NAACP. Yet the NAACP was the main litigant in the case!

3. Now, South Carolina's "Committee of 52" has suggested to the South Carolina General Assembly that it take steps as necessary to interpose the sovereignty of the state between the federal courts and the local school officials in regard to court usurpation of state

legally qualified voters themselves is truly decisive either way, the duly elected leaders of the state government will have a clear mandate from them. If this be a democracy (which we were told in World War II we were fighting for), then the Voice of the People is a higher Court of Appeal than any politically-nominated, left-wing court. The people should be the final Court of Appeal.

7. Here, then, would be the implementation of the proposal of that highly respectable "Committee of 52" in the only truly democratic procedure that we know: namely, the legal exercise of the people's voting privileges.

## FROM SOUTH AFRICA

Citizens' Councils  
Winona, Mississippi, U. S. A.  
Dear Sirs:

In South Africa we are fortunate in having a government and the majority of the European population standing four-square behind a segregation policy. Determined efforts, however, have been made and are being made by UNO, UNESCO, World Communism and Wall Street's financial junta to discredit South Africa and smash down our policy.

They have not succeeded so far, but it is alarming to what extent Liberalism and the multi-racial idea have paralysed so many English people in England and in Africa.

I have been following closely political trends in the U. S. A., and have felt very keenly for the true American descendants of the Founding Fathers who would turn

of the Citizens Councils and the materials they mail are repulsive and absolutely insulting to my intelligence. I am embarrassed that the President of Mississippi College, where six of the finest youths from our church are now students, and where three additional ones will enroll this fall, has contributed to a "hate" campaign as un-Christian and un-American as I believe this to be.

Dr. Nelson, I do not expect you to agree with me, but I am compelled to speak my convictions.

Sincerely, in His service,

/S/ Robert \_\_\_\_\_  
Minister of Education

In the negro "republic" of Liberia, no white man is allowed to vote, own property or hold office.

of agitation and discussion, materialism was in the saddle and God was given a small place in His world, if indeed He existed at all. Then the encouraging thing was that the conservative religious forces revolted at the idea and threw their weight against it. It was argued with telling effect that all of the various forms of life were created after their kind and this order in the natural world is still maintained. With this continuous assault, aided by succeeding scientific discoveries which reveal that matter itself may be only another form of energy, and only the intangible and spiritual are real and abiding, the material evolutionist has been driven from his high seat and the word, evolution, once so popular, is seldom used now.

theory of organic evolution, much of it is being used today to accelerate the coming of a classless society and a raceless world. Such a position finds as little support in the Scripture as the theory of evolution. And in nature, the handiwork of God, variety and differences and distinction are found everywhere. No two flowers on the same bush are alike. No two leaves on the same tree are identical. Finger printing is possible because the palm of every hand is different. The sensitive feeling of some people are hurt when the terms inferiority and superiority are used in speaking of different races, but the fact remains that races are different, radically different, and man is not responsible for this difference, but God. And for a people not to recognize and respect these racial characteristics and dissimilarities, but attempt to merge them in the crucible of miscegenation, expecting therefrom an improved race, is the height of blasphemy.

#### Nature of Citizens' Council

In your letter you speak disparagingly of the Citizens' Council. You must know that its membership is composed of the descendants of those who suffered much and sacrificed all to build and preserve for us our cherished southern way of life. These members are the first citizens of our communities. They are supporters of all good causes and are interested in transmitting our rich heritage untarnished to coming generation.

We greatly enjoyed the visit of you and your associates to our college and our chapel exercises. Come again and inspire us with your messages and melodies. From our short acquaintance, with you we are convinced that you have greater possibilities as a musician than as a philosopher.

Fraternally yours,  
D. M. Nelson, President

(though many people have done so over matters of far less importance), it must either yield to force and fraud, or it must "interpose the sovereignty of the state" between the federal courts and its own people.

5. Following that line of reasoning, I submit what would appear to be the only sensible plan. Let the legitimate voice of the Southern people be heard clearly on this problem for the first time ever. Let us use the polls for the very purpose for which they were designed. By the democratic process, let the qualified voters of each affected state decide the fate of their highly significant bi-racial civilization. In short, do the people of the affected state want race-mixing or race-separation?

6. This time we will not have a fraudulent vote purporting to represent the opinion of a disfranchised people under military rule during a period of radical Reconstruction. The Fourteenth Amendment was not a product of either democratic or constitutional processes. This time we will not have an undemocratic edict, or ukase, handed down by nine allies of the NAACP, selected for their well-known left-wing views. No, this time, if the decision of the

I am coming to the conclusion that although it is necessary to inveigh against crime, it is more necessary to expose the criminals. In the same way, it seems that we are inveighing far too much against Communism, Liberalism, and Multi-racialism, instead of exposing the names and identities of the individuals and groups whose master plan it is to destroy the European race and make the world safe for World Communism.

Many Whites in Africa will be heartened by the news that you are organizing as you are doing, because our local English newspapers—and the U. S. Information Services—give the impression that Integration is becoming an accomplished fact in the U. S. A. The news of your fight will not only give a great measure of moral support here, but will help us to burst through the Press iron curtain.

S. E. D. Brown, Editor  
South African Observer  
Cape Town

(Mr. Brown ordered 2,000 copies each of Dr. Gillespie's A CHRISTIAN VIEW ON SEGREGATION, our pamphlet THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL and Judge Brady's BLACK MONDAY).

## THE SOUTH IS MOBILIZING

### Organize for Victory

THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL Will  
Keep You Officially Informed

## SUBSCRIBE NOW

Citizens' Councils

203 Walthall Hotel, Jackson, Mississippi

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Address.....

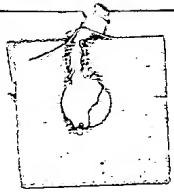
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b7c

Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

November 7, 1955

Director, FBI

CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - A  
FBI File 105-33955

Reference is made to the reports of Special Agent John P. Brady dated February 18, 1955, May 8, 1955, and July 14, 1955, all at Mobile, Alabama, concerning the captioned organization, copies of which have been furnished you previously.

The reports furnished you do not reflect the results of a full investigation of this organization but only information obtained through limited inquiries being made to ascertain the influence, if any, in this organization of Ku Klux Klan members or others who advocate repressive tactics against minorities; to determine whether its programs and activities bring it within purview of Executive Order 10450; and to develop data regarding this group's potential for violence.

In the event an investigation of this organization is initiated as a result of data obtained through inquiries being conducted you will be furnished the results of the investigation and at that time informed that an investigation rather than an inquiry is being conducted.

CFW:sad  
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/26/99 BY 60262 NLS/BCE/AMW

RECORDED - 65

105-33955-12

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- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Boardman \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Sandy \_\_\_\_\_

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COMM-FBI

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OK

Liaison Section  
Mr. [redacted]

b6  
b7c

105-33955

Date: November 7, 1955  
To: Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2  
Department of the Army  
The Pentagon  
Washington 25, D. C.

Attention: Chief, Security Division

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Reference is made to the reports of Special Agent John P. Brady dated February 18, 1955, May 8, 1955, and July 14, 1955, all at Mobile, Alabama, concerning the captioned organization, copies of which have been furnished you previously.

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In the event an investigation of this organization is initiated as a result of data obtained through inquiries being conducted you will be furnished the results of the investigation and at that time informed that an investigation rather than an inquiry is being conducted.

The information furnished you concerning the captioned organization is for your confidential use and should not be disseminated outside your agency.

2cc - Director of Naval Intelligence  
Department of the Navy  
The Pentagon  
Washington 25, D. C.

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE

NOV 8

COMM - FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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BY COURIER SVC.

20 NOV 8 1955

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58 NOV 14 1955

Letter to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2  
Department of the Army

2cc - Director of Special Investigations  
The Inspector General  
Department of the Air Force  
Building, Tempo 2  
4th and Adams Drive, S. O.  
Washington, D. C.

BY CLERICAL SERVICE

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Letter is being directed to all field offices conducting inquiries re these groups to disseminate copies of initial report on each one of these groups prepared in future by cover letter advising as above and to advise Intelligence Agencies as above on cases in which reports previously disseminated.

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237)  
FROM: SAC, MOBILE (105-167)  
SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

DATE: 11/18/55

*My*  
Re Bureau memo to Atlanta 10/28/55.

To date the racial situation within the Mobile territory has not brought forth any serious incidents. Two pro-segregation organizations were formed in this area, namely The Southerners Inc., and Citizens Councils of Alabama.

The Southerners Inc., Bufile 105-28906, was formed in Mobile in May, 1954 and advocated retention of segregation by lawful means. No indication of unlawful activity or inclination toward violence was noted. This organization has ceased activity due to lack of interest on the part of members and a closing report will be submitted.

*O*  
Citizens Councils of Alabama, Bufile 105-33955, were organized in the fall of 1954 and have chapters in six counties. Leadership centers are in Selma, Alabama, where leaders are two well-known attorneys. No acts of violence have been noted and informants report that the Councils have a policy of engaging only in legal activity and will not condone violence.

No Negro organizations have been noted in opposition to the Citizens Councils, except of course the NAACP. One Communist Party member in Mobile, Alabama, indicated interest in the segregation matter and previously indicated that he would try to arrange attempts by Negroes to try and register in white public schools in the school year which began in September, 1955. However, he did not follow up in the City of Mobile.

No major incidents of racial nature have occurred. Two minor incidents which have been noted are set out:

JTB-ojt

(3)

58 NOV 29 1955  
REGISTERED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/26/99 BY 60271 nst/ace/lan

105-33955-1

NOT RECORDED  
58 NOV 23 1955

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-34237-91

Director, FBI

1) On 9/2/54, a white man, [REDACTED], Montgomery, Alabama, took a number of Negro children to a white elementary school in Montgomery and attempted to assist them in registering at the school. The children were not allowed to register and the attorney for the group stated the matter would be taken into court. No violence occurred in connection with the matter and no further activity of this nature followed. (See report of SA WILBOR J. HUST, 9/10/54, Mobile, entitled, "[REDACTED] UNKNOWN VICTIMS, CR.")

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2) On 8/29/55, a petition signed by 29 Negroes calling for admittance of Negro children in all-white school in Selma, Alabama, was presented to the City Superintendent of Education. Newspaper accounts 9/8/55 reflected that about 16 of the 29 had lost their jobs. M. ALSTON KEITH, Chairman of Citizens Council in Dallas County, noted, according to the news article, that some employers who fired signers of the petition are Council members and others are not. No violence was noted in connection therewith.

Any pertinent information received in the future relative to racial tension in connection with Citizens Councils or their opposites will be brought immediately to the attention of the Bureau.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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FORM NO. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

MOBILE

REPORT MADE AT <b>MOBILE</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>DEC 2 1955</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>9/8,9,12,13,19; 10/12,20,24; 11/3,4,23/55</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b> :blc
TITLE <b>CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - X</b>
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: <p>Dallas Co. Citizens Council held meeting, Selma, Ala., 10/31/55, with approximately 800 in attendance. List of officers set out. Membership, Dallas Co. estimated at 1,300. News article reflects on 8/29/55, petition signed by 29 negroes calling for admittance of negroes into white schools received by City Superintendent of Schools, Selma, Ala. News article 9/8/55, reported that an estimated 16 of the signers had lost jobs. Additional Citizens Councils formed at Butler, Wilcox and Montgomery Counties.</p> <p><i>Let OBI w/ice up cc of ltr to AAG w/ice up 12/10/55</i> - P* - <i>W</i></p> <p>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE <u>10/5/99</u> BY <u>60267 NIS/CE/Amw</u></p>			
DETAILS: <p>On June 28, 1955, Reverend ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Secretary, Alabama Council of Human Relations, Montgomery, Alabama, advised Special Agent <b>[REDACTED]</b> that he had done research concerning captioned organization and had determined Citizens Councils had been operating in Dallas, Marengo, Perry, Hale and Macon Counties in Alabama. Concerning the Hale County group, HUGHES stated that a Mr. <b>[REDACTED]</b></p> <p><i>17% mobile 12/9/55 4 copies of ltr to AAG w/ice up 12/10/55</i></p> <p>AGENCY <b>C-2, ONI</b> REQ. DIV. DATE FORW. <b>12/9/55</b> HOW FORW. <b>AS</b> BY <b>cc/126</b></p> <p>APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <b>[REDACTED]</b> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE</p> <p>DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <b>105-33955-14</b> <b>20 DEC 5 1955</b> <b>RECORDED - 5</b> <b>INDEXED - 15</b> <b>EX-122</b></p> <p>COPIES OF THIS REPORT <b>SEE NEXT PAGE</b> <b>525</b></p>			

PROPERTY OF FBI—This report is loaned to you by the FBI, and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside of agency to which loaned.

MO 105-121

- ⑥- Bureau (105-23955) (RM)  
1 - OSI, 8th AD (RM)  
1 - G-2, 3rd Army (RM)  
1 - ONI, 6th ND (RM)  
1 - Atlanta (info) (RM)  
1 - Birmingham (info) (RM)  
1 - Memphis (info) (RM)  
1 - New Orleans (info) (RM)  
3 - Mobile (105-121)
- 

[redacted] at Greensboro, Alabama, had advised that a meeting had taken place at Greensboro during December, 1954, of ten community leaders who deliberated the matter of integration and segregation in a calm and deliberate manner. He said that no mention was made at the meeting of economic pressure to be taken against negroes who advocate integration. He added that no further meeting of this group has been known to take place.

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Concerning Macon County, the Montgomery Advertiser, daily newspaper published at Montgomery, Alabama, in the issue of December 15, 1954, reflected that about 50 persons met at Notasulga, Alabama, and that a spokesman for the group issued a statement to the press that the groundwork was being laid for a chapter of the White Citizens Council. HUGHES had no additional information concerning the chapters in Dallas, Marengo or Perry Counties. HUGHES stated that the Citizens Council have claimed to have chapters in Green, Picken, Wilcox and Autauga Counties and that he had conducted inquiries concerning the councils in these four counties and does not feel that they exist in these counties.

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#### DALLAS COUNTY CITIZENS COUNCIL

Mr. McLEAN PITTS, Attorney and an executive member of the Council, Selma, Alabama, advised Special Agent JOHN P. BRADY on November 3, 1955, that the Dallas County Citizens Council had held a meeting for members and guests at Selma, Alabama, on October 31, 1955, at the Junior High



MO 105-121

School Auditorium. Approximately 800 persons were in attendance. The purpose of the meeting was to elect new officers, it being noted that the Council has been in effect for one full year.

Mr. PITTS continued that the former Chairman, Mr. M. ALSTON KEITH, presided over the meeting. Dr. [redacted], Pastor of the [redacted] Church, pronounced the invocation. Mr. OLIN HORTON, Birmingham, Alabama, President of the Alabama States Rights Association, was the principal speaker.

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Mr. PITTS advised that matters under consideration at the meeting included the subject of dues, it being the decision of the group that annual dues of \$3.00 would be continued. Some reference was made to the possibility of forming a state organization in the near future and the suggestion of admitting women as members was also discussed.

Mr. PITTS advised that the following were elected as officers of the Council to serve for the next year:

Chairman, HENRY KIENG, Burnsville, Alabama  
Vice-Chairmen, JOHN T. MOORE, Orrville, Alabama  
JIM RISHER, JR., Tyler, Alabama  
HOWARD LONG, Burnsville, Alabama  
Secretary-Treasurer, EARL ELIZEY, Selma, Alabama  
Executive Committee, JOHN W. BRESLIN, Selma  
EDGAR SHEFFIELD, Selma  
C. F. SHUPTRINE, Selma  
JAKE BENDERSKY, Selma  
KENNETH NAUGHTON, Selma  
WATSON PIERSON, Forks District  
THORNTON GILES, Forks District  
HORACE ZIMMERMAN, Forks District  
JOHN GIVHAN, West Dallas District  
Dr. JACK MOORE, West Dallas District  
CHARLES POTTER, West Dallas District  
L. E. TATE, West Dallas District

ala



MO 105-121

*ala.*  
Executive Committee, E. L. ~~CASEY~~, Southside District  
G. R. ~~BEERS~~, Southside District  
~~MORROW~~ CHANCE, Southside District  
CRAWFORD ~~HENRY~~, Southside District  
CC ~~ER~~ SIMS, Southside District

Mr. M. ALSTON KEITH, former Chairman of the Dallas County Council, Selma, Alabama, advised Special Agent JOHN P. BRADY, on November 3, 1955, that it remains the policy of the Council to preserve segregation in Alabama by all legal means. He emphasized that the Council has not and will not condone violence. He estimated the membership in the Dallas County Council at the present time to be approximately 1,300.

Racial Incidents, Item #1

*ala*  
The Selma Times Journal, daily newspaper published at Selma, Alabama, in its issue of August 30, 1955, reflected that on August 29, 1955, a petition signed by 29 negroes calling for the admittance of negroes into city elementary and secondary high schools was received via Registered Mail by [redacted]. The mimeographed document was sent by the local office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, counselled by [redacted]. It asked for "immediate steps to reorganize the public schools under your jurisdiction on a nondiscriminatory basis." The petition in full, reads as follows:

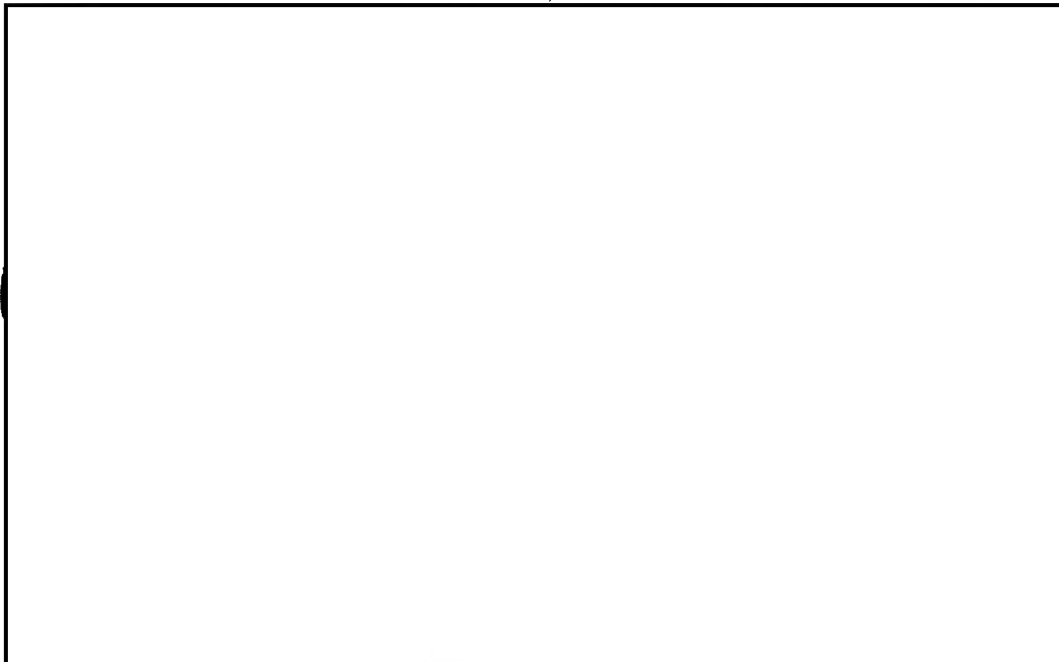
"We, the undersigned, are the parents of children of school age entitled to attend and attending the public elementary and secondary high schools under your jurisdiction. As you undoubtedly know, the United States Supreme Court on May 17, 1954 ruled that the maintenance of racially-segregated public schools is a violation of the Constitution of the United States and on May 31, 1955, reaffirmed that principle and requires 'good faith compliance at the earliest possible date' with the federal courts authorized to determine whether local officials are proceeding in good faith.

MO 105-121

"We therefore call upon you to take immediate steps to reorganize the public schools under your jurisdiction on a nondiscriminatory basis. As we understand it, you have the responsibility to reorganize the school systems under your control so that the children of public school age attending and entitled to attend public schools cannot be denied admission to any school or be required to attend any school solely because of race or color.

"The May 31st decision of the Supreme Court, to us, means that the time for delay, evasion or procrastination is past. Whatever the difficulties in according our children their constitutional rights, it is clear that the school board must meet and seek a solution to that question in accordance with the law of the land. As we interpret the decision, you are duty bound to take immediate concrete steps leading to early elimination of segregation in public schools. Please rest assured of our willingness to serve in any way we can to aid you in dealing with this question."

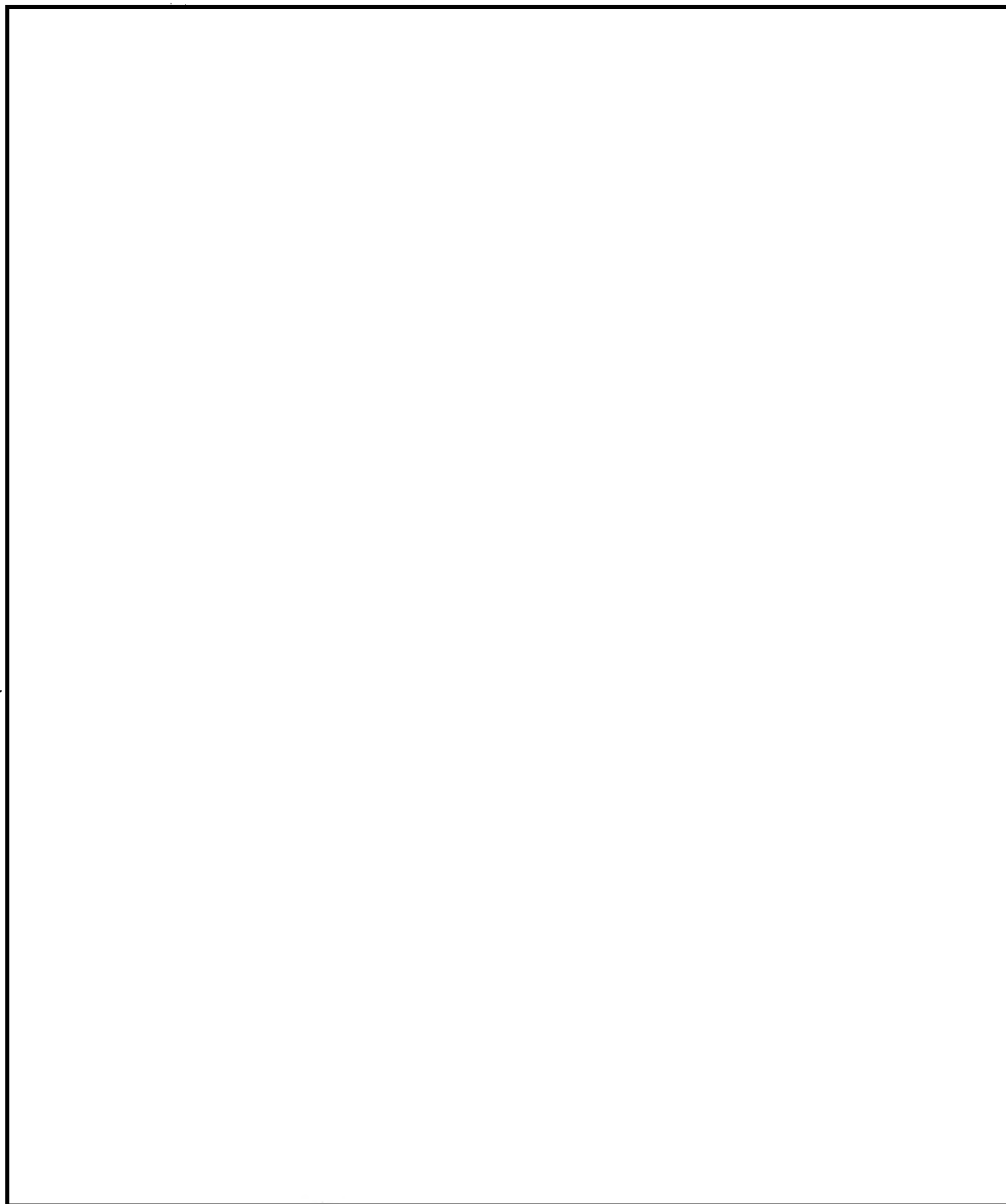
*Delma, Ala.*  
Those signing the document were:



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The following data appeared in the Montgomery Advertiser, daily newspaper, Montgomery, Alabama, under date of September 8, 1955:

"A number of Selma negroes who last week filed a petition with the Selma City School Board calling

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for the desegregation of schools have lost their jobs. A total of 29 signed the document -- of that group, M. ALSTON KEITH, Chairman of the Dallas County White Citizens Council said an 'educated guess' as to the number who have lost their jobs would be about 16'.---

"[redacted], a former employee of the Selma Marble and Granite Works for nine years, was fired, he said, Wednesday at noon less than 24 hours after his name appeared in the newspaper as having signed the petition. He said his employer, [redacted], asked him to remove his name from the petition. [redacted] said he refused and in a few minutes he was given his paycheck.

"[redacted], said she was dismissed Friday. She added her employer told her if she removed her name from the petition she could return to work.

"[redacted], who was employed at a furniture factory, said he lost his job this week because he supposedly could not meet his production quota. He said he was 'having difficulty' getting unemployment compensation.

"Two other negro women who signed the petition said they had been 'misinformed' as to its purpose. [redacted] said after she found the petition to be one for desegregation she went to the school board and had her name removed.

"White Citizens Council Chairman M. ALSTON KEITH commented that he had been out of town attending a convention of the National Bar Association held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at the time the petition had been presented and was not familiar with all of the facts. He noted that some of the employers who had fired signers of the petition were members of the Council while others were not.

"An unidentified source said that six others who had signed the petition had lost their jobs shortly thereafter. They were identified as follows:

MO 105-121



"In addition it appeared that pressure had been applied to two barbers who were told to find new locations for their shops. The barbers were identified as



"No pressure was evident against the following signers:



"[redacted] of the Selma City Schools, said that four of the negroes who signed the petition have withdrawn their names and a fifth has announced the intention.

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[redacted]  
[redacted] of the YMCA, said [redacted] didn't lose his job because of the fact he signed the petition but because he wasn't doing the job. The negro had been employed as [redacted] for less than a year."

The following information is summarized from an article appearing in the Selma Times Journal, Selma, Alabama, on September 8, 1955:

M. ALSTON KEITH, Chairman of the Council said that his group would take neither credit nor censure for the developments. He asserted that the Council has operated entirely within its legal rights in whatever action may have been taken in connection with the school petition.

[redacted]  
reported that five of the signers had asked in writing that their names be removed. He listed these as follows:

[redacted]

[redacted] of the local unemployment office, reported that "There was absolutely no basis for the statement of [redacted] that he is having trouble drawing unemployment compensation." [redacted] reviewed administrative procedures for processing these claims and noted that there had not been sufficient time for the claim to have been acted upon. [redacted] denied having made the statements attributed to him by the Montgomery Advertiser.

On September 13, 1955, the following information was obtained by Special Agent HARLAN C. FLINNER from Mobile Confidential Informant T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past. The informant, a member of the White

MO 105-121

Citizens Council at Selma, advised that immediately following the petition to the School Superintendent the Council had prepared a memorandum to all members under date of September 1, 1955. This memorandum reads as follows:

"Dear Fellow Member:

We give you below copy of Petition of the twenty-nine Negroes, which was filed with the City of Selma School Board.

Yours very truly,

/s/ TOM STRONG, Acting  
Chairman, Dallas County  
Citizens Council"

The memorandum then quoted the petition in full and listed the signers. The memorandum does not contain any further information nor does it recommend any action. A copy of the memorandum made available by T-1 is being retained in the file.

On September 8, 1955, Mobile Confidential Informant T-2, of unknown reliability, but who is in a position to have reliable and accurate information, advised Special Agent BRADY that the Petition Signer [redacted] who had been employed at the [redacted] did not lose his job because of the Petition. T-2 noted that [redacted] had been warned some time before that his work was unsatisfactory and that the paper work involved in separating him from the job had been started prior to his signing the Petition. T-2 added that with respect to [redacted], who had been discharged as [redacted] by the YMCA, that this action followed a meeting of the YMCA Board held immediately after the petition had been presented and at a time when Board members were aware that [redacted] had signed the petition.

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Racial Incidents, Item #2

On October 12, 1955, Captain [redacted] Selma Police Department, related to Special Agent BRADY that on October 7, 1955, one [redacted], negro,

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[redacted]  
[redacted], had passed a note to Mrs. [redacted], a white matron of Selma, when Mrs. [redacted] called at his store to collect money for the sale of milk products. Mr. and Mrs. [redacted] it is noted, operate [redacted] near Selma. This note asked Mrs. [redacted] to call [redacted] that afternoon between 2 and 3:00 p.m. The call was placed that afternoon from Police Headquarters and Captain [redacted], who listened to the conversation on an extension, reported that [redacted] attempted to have Mrs. [redacted] agree to meet him someplace "where they could talk." [redacted] added that the incident became known to a number of people and had created a considerable amount of indignation.

[redacted] continued on October 20, 1955, that on October 13, 1955, four white men picked up a negro man, one [redacted], near the [redacted] store and carried him out into the country. [redacted] was released unharmed when it developed that the four men thought they had picked up [redacted]. The four men were subsequently identified as [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted].

[redacted] advised that on October 17, 1955, a man and a woman, subsequently identified as Police Officer WILLIAM D. BAILEY and Mrs. [redacted], set fire to the house next door to that occupied by [redacted], having apparently intended to set fire to [redacted]'s house. On the night of October 18, 1955, these two same individuals rode by the [redacted] house and fired two shots at the house. All six of the above subjects were arrested and charged by local authorities. On October 25, 1955, Officer BAILEY committed suicide, his death being attributed to marital difficulties rather than to instant matter, according to [redacted].

On October 20, 1955, Reverend ROBERT HUGHES, 206 Moore Building, Montgomery, Alabama, Executive Secretary, Alabama Council on Human Relations, advised Special Agent [redacted], Montgomery, Alabama, that he had received information from one [redacted], [redacted] of a negro newspaper in Birmingham, Alabama, who in turn had received the information from an unidentified source at Selma, that the

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MO 105-121

above incidents were related to the school petition filed at Selma. HUGHES asserted that one of the negroes who had signed the petition and who had been fired had been employed by the Cloverleaf Creamery products. These products are handled by [ ] at his store and immediately after the negro had been fired the sale of Cloverleaf products fell off sharply while the products handled by Mrs. [ ] had risen sharply. HUGHES continued that it was his information that [ ] had sought to discuss this situation with Mrs. [ ] and had asked her to call him for that reason.

On October 24, 1955, Mobile Confidential Informant T-1 advised Special Agent FLINNER that the incidents involving the attempt of [ ] to date a white woman and the subsequent kidnapping, arson and shooting, was in no way connected with the Citizens Council. He added that some members of the Council felt that [ ] was something of a plant for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People who had perhaps been encouraged to create an incident that was sure to cause violence in the area.

On October 20, 1955, Police Captain [ ] related to Special Agent BRADY that the attempt by [ ] to date Mrs. [ ] was known to the Citizens Council and he believed that they had made some inquiries and had determined that [ ] would be susceptible to economic pressure because of several mortgages on his store and because of a number of bad checks he usually had outstanding. However, he does not believe that the Council had taken any action in the matter whatever when BAILEY, [ ] and the others took it upon themselves to take direct action against [ ].

#### WILCOX COUNTY CITIZENS COUNCIL

The following information is summarized from an article appearing in the Selma Times Journal on August 7, 1955:

Following are the officers of the Wilcox County Citizens Council elected at an open meeting at the Court House in Camden, Alabama:

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FRED HENDERSON, Millers Ferry, Chairman.  
HENDERSON was described as a prominent Wilcox County  
landowner and cattleman-farmer and [redacted]  
[redacted] and staunch  
segregationist who was unsuccessful in a bid for the  
[redacted] during the 1954 election.

S. C. GODBOLD, Vice-Chairman. [redacted] of  
the Bank of Camden.

LESLIE JOHNSON, Vice-Chairman. [redacted] of  
the Camden National Bank.

BRYON HALE, Vice-Chairman. [redacted] of the  
Pine Apple Bank.

FRED VAUGHAN, Vice-Chairman, [redacted] of the  
Pine Hill Bank.

The following information was taken from an  
article appearing in the Selma Times Journal for November 2,  
1955:

*ala* The Wilcox County Citizens' Council planned a  
Thursday night rally at which [redacted], prominent  
South Carolina attorney, would make the principal  
address. FRED HENDERSON, Chairman, advised that the  
Council has approximately 350 members. He identified  
[redacted] as the attorney who represented [redacted]  
South Carolina, in the recent case of [redacted] versus  
[redacted].

MARENGO COUNTY CITIZENS COUNCIL

The following information was taken from an  
article appearing in the Selma Times Journal for July 29, 1955:

*ala* A meeting of the Marengo County Citizens Council  
was held on July 27, 1955, at Linden, Alabama. THOMAS  
MILLER, Linden, was Chairman of the meeting. Speakers  
included:

State Senator E. O. EDDINS, Demopolis, Alabama

MO 105-121

State Senator SAM ENGLEHARDT, Macon County,  
Alabama

Mr. ROBERT PATTERSON, Executive Secretary,  
Citizens Council, Winona, Mississippi

Mr. OLIN HORTON, President, American States  
Rights Association, Birmingham, Alabama

M. ALSTON KEITH, Chairman, Dallas County  
Citizens Council

State Senator ALBERT DAVIS, Pickens County,  
Alabama

Approximately 400 persons were reported in  
attendance.

The following information was taken from the  
Selma Times Journal, Selma, on September 14, 1955:

The Marengo County Citizens Council met at the  
County Court House on September 12, 1955. Mr. [redacted]  
[redacted] of The South, a magazine, was  
the principal speaker. THOMAS MILLER, Chairman, reported  
that the Marengo County Council had 335 members as of  
that date.

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#### BUTLER COUNTY CITIZENS COUNCIL

The September 10, 1955, issue of the Montgomery  
Advertiser, a daily newspaper published at Montgomery, Alabama,  
reflected that a White Citizens Council had been organized  
in Butler County at Greenville, Alabama, on September 8, 1955. *ala*  
Chairman of the group was listed as JEFF P. BEELAND.  
The article quoted BEELAND as stating he is against any type  
of economic boycott and that he believed the White Citizens  
Council in Butler County would prevent desegregation there.

On September 12, 1955, Chief of Police L. E.  
TOWERY, Greenville, Alabama, advised that there were approxi-  
mately 3,000 people at the organizational meeting of the  
White Citizens Council at Greenville, Alabama. He stated that

MO 105-121

JEFF P. BEELAND owns [redacted] at Greenville.

On September 19, 1955, Reverend ROBERT HUGHES, 206 Moore Building, Montgomery, Alabama, referred to above, advised Special Agent [redacted] that he had attended the first open meeting of the Butler County Citizens Council at Greenville, Alabama, which he stated was on September 7, 1955 (not September 8, 1955, as a news article indicated). He estimated that there had been approximately 800 in attendance at this meeting and stated that Mr. BEELAND had told him, HUGHES, that the Butler County Citizens Council was not affiliated with any other state organization or with any other county council.

An article written by BOB INGRAM in the Montgomery Advertiser, issue of October 7, 1955, reported that the Butler County Citizens Council met in Greenville on October 5, 1955, and that the attendance had been estimated at 150, which was a drop from the 800 which had shown up for the first meeting several weeks before.

#### MONTGOMERY COUNTY CITIZENS COUNCIL

The October 2, 1955, issue of the Montgomery Advertiser, contained an article to the effect that a Citizens Council would be organized in Montgomery County on the night of October 3, 1955, and reflected that LUTHER ~~INGALLS~~. *ala* ~~INGALLS~~, Montgomery Attorney, would serve as the temporary chairman.

An article appearing in the Montgomery Advertiser on October 4, 1955, reflected that the first meeting of the Montgomery County Citizens Council had been held on the night of October 3, 1955, at the Montgomery City Auditorium. The speakers at this meeting were SAM ~~ENGELHARDT, JR.~~, State Senator from Macon County and OLIN ~~HORTON~~, listed as President of the American States Rights Association, a pro-segregation group. INGALLS presided over the meeting.

Reverend ROBERT HUGHES, referred to above, advised Special Agent [redacted] on October 19, 1955,

MO 105-121

that he had attended the above meeting on October 3, 1955, and estimated attendance at approximately 450 people.

An article in the Montgomery Advertiser on October 23, 1955, reflected that the Montgomery County Citizens Council has Post Office Box 2563, Montgomery, Alabama.

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MO 105-121

ADMINISTRATIVE

A copy of this report is furnished to Atlanta, Birmingham, Memphis and New Orleans because of similar activity in these divisions.

Concerning Racial Incident #2, beginning at the bottom of page 10, the Bureau is referred to the case entitled WILLIAM D. BAILEY, ETAL; [REDACTED], ETAL - VICTIMS, CIVIL RIGHTS, Mobile origin.

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Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed and T symbols were used in this report only in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.

INFORMANTS

T-1 is [REDACTED], PCI, Selma, Alabama.

T-2 is Mrs. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED], Selma, Alabama.

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LEAD

MOBILE DIVISION

Will continue to report on activities of subject organization.

REFERENCE

Report of SA JOHN P. BRADY, Mobile, 7/14/55.

- ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE -

RECORDED - 81

105-33955 - 115

EX-126

1-  
1-Liaison Section

DATE: December 12, 1955 BY COURIER SERVICE

TO: Director of Special Investigations  
The Inspector General  
Department of the Air Force  
Building Tempo E  
4th and Adams Drive, S. W.  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/99 BY 60267 NIS/EC/AMU

FROM: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

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b7C

There is being furnished you herewith one copy of the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated December 2, 1955, at Mobile, Alabama, concerning the captioned organization.

In connection with this organization on November 17 and 18, 1955, Special Agent [redacted], Office of Special Investigations, Craig Air Force Base, Selma, Alabama, contacted an Agent of the Mobile Office of this Bureau concerning [redacted], who was one of the signers of a petition for school desegregation at Selma, Alabama. [redacted] advised that an article in the "Daily Worker" reflected that [redacted] had been discharged from his job at [redacted], Selma, Alabama, and that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was going to ask the Air Force to discontinue the purchase of products from [redacted]. [redacted] advised that [redacted] has a contract with Craig Air Force Base and is doing approximately \$6,000 worth of business a month.

On November 18, 1955, [redacted] advised an Agent of the Mobile Office that it had been reported to him that another signer of the school petition is [redacted], who has been employed by [redacted], Selma, Alabama.

[redacted] stated that [redacted] holds contracts with the Air Force and noted that there are antidiscrimination clauses in the contracts with [redacted] and [redacted].

[redacted] noted that if the two companies mentioned above actually dropped the two employees because they had signed the school petition the companies were possibly violating the terms of their contracts.

CFW:bas (6)

lcc - AAG Tompkins by O-6, same date, with enclosure.

BY COURIER SVC.

28 DEC 13

COMM-FBI

Tolson  
Boardman  
Nichols  
Belmont  
Harbo  
Mohr  
Parsons  
Rosen  
Tamm  
Sizoo  
Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Holloman  
Gandy

WALK  
@FBI

Memorandum to Director of Special Investigations  
Department of the Air Force

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Your attention is directed to page 6 of the enclosed report wherein information is set forth which was contained in an article which appeared in the "Montgomery Advertiser" in its issue of September 8, 1955. This article revealed that [redacted] and [redacted] were two of the signers of the petition who lost their jobs shortly after signing the petition.

Enclosure



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-33955)

DATE: 12/1/55

FROM : SAC, MOBILE (105-121)

b6  
b7CSUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

On November 17 and 18, 1955, SA [redacted], OSI, Craig AFB, Selma, Ala., contacted SA JOHN P. BRADY concerning one [redacted], negro male, who was one of the signers of a petition for school desegregation at Selma, Ala. [redacted] advised that an article in the Daily Worker reflected that [redacted] had been discharged from his position at the [redacted], Selma, and that the NAACP was going to ask the Air Force to discontinue the purchase of products from [redacted].

The OSI requested certain information concerning the school petition. A report is in dictation at the present time reflecting information concerning this school petition and summarizing news articles which reported that an estimated number of 16 of the 29 signers had been discharged as a result of signing the petition. The OSI has been furnished with previous copies of reports in captioned case and is being furnished with a copy of the report being typed.

[redacted] advised SA BRADY that [redacted] has a contract with Craig AFB doing approximately \$6,000 worth of business per month.

On 11/18/55, [redacted] advised SA BRADY that it had been reported to him that another signer of the school petition was [redacted], negro male, who has been employed by [redacted], Selma. It is noted that both [redacted] and [redacted] are named in the report being submitted by this office as being two of the persons who reportedly signed this petition. [redacted] stated that the [redacted] holds contracts with the Air Force and noted that there are anti-discrimination clauses in the contracts for [redacted] and [redacted].

[redacted] noted that if the two companies actually dropped the two employees because they had signed the school petition the companies were possibly violating the terms of their contract. [redacted] indicated that the FBI might

RECORDED - 1

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(4)

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20 DEC 5 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/99 BY 60367 WLS/BCL/AMW

DIRECTOR, FBI

12/1/55

later be requested to determine the reasons the two negroes had been fired. [ ] was advised by SA BRADY that if the companies had violated the anti-discrimination clauses of their contracts such violations would not appear to be a criminal or security matter, but rather an administrative matter to be followed and handled by Air Force authorities.

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The above is called to the Bureau's attention as a matter of information and no further action concerning the matter is being taken other than furnishing OSI copies of each report submitted in the above-captioned case.

SAC, Mobile

December 12, 1955

Director, FBI

BUTLER COUNTY CITIZENS COUNCIL  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

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OP Rerep of SA [redacted] dated 12-2-55 at Mobile, Alabama, captioned "Citizens Councils of Alabama, Internal Security - X."

On page 15 of rerep information is set out to the effect that the Butler County Citizens Council is not affiliated with any other state or county organization.

In the event your inquiries determine the above to be correct a separate case on the captioned organization should be opened and separate reports submitted on this organization. You are instructed to advise the Bureau promptly whether the Butler Citizens Council is an autonomous organization.

In the event it is determined that other pro-segregation groups which have been formed in the territory covered by your office are autonomous they should be handled in the same manner.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/95 BY 60267NLS/BCL/mw

105-33955

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1 - 105-33955 (Citizens Councils of Alabama)

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SAC, Birmingham

December 19, 1955

Director, FBI

ALABAMA CITIZENS COUNCILS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

The Bureau is in receipt of an article which appeared in the December 4, 1955, issue of "The Birmingham News," Birmingham, Alabama, which was furnished by your office.

This article reveals that plans are being made to organize Citizens Councils in every Congressional district in Alabama. The council at Tarrant, according to the article, was the first of these organizations. Information concerning this council at Tarrant was set forth in Bureau letter dated December 5, 1955.

The Birmingham and Mobile Offices are instructed to advise the Bureau promptly whether these councils being formed are connected in any manner with the Citizens Councils of Alabama (Mobile origin) or the American States' Rights Association (Birmingham origin).

In the event these are separate autonomous organizations a separate report should be submitted on each council formed; however, if all of the councils being organized are affiliated with one state-wide organization their activities should be reported under the caption of that organization.

In order for the Bureau to follow these councils administratively it is necessary to know their exact status.

2cc - Mobile

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 02/19/99 BY 60261 NLS/BCL/AMW

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# Citizens plan councils over all Alabama

Plans to organize Citizens Councils in every congressional district of Alabama were disclosed Saturday night at a meeting of the Tarrant City chapter of the Citizens Councils which more than 300 persons attended.

The Tarrant group, first of the council units to be formed in North Alabama, heard Judge Hugh Locke and Ace Carter speak on plans to fight racial integration at all levels.

Carter, executive secretary of the Citizens Councils in North Alabama, said eight to 12 more groups may be formed in Jefferson County.

CARTER ALSO asked the council's approval on a telegram he sent today to Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia in which he congratulated the Georgia executive for the stand he has taken on Georgia Tech playing in the Sugar Bowl against a Pittsburgh team which has a Negro player.

The Georgia governor objected to the fact that fans were not to be segregated in the stands at the New Year's Day game.

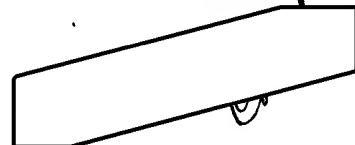
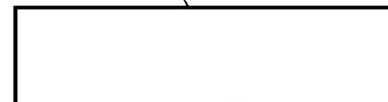
Carter's telegram said the governor's actions were "a beacon of hope to the besieged white people of the South."

BOTH CARTER and Judge Locke charged that the move to break down segregation barriers in the South is Communist-inspired.

The meeting was the second since the group was organized only a few days ago and the president of the council, Druggist John Whitley, said that beginning in January meetings would be held at the Civic Center which provides more space than is available at the City Hall.

Judge Locke pointed out that Birmingham has never had a lynching, a race riot or racial friction because segregation has been maintained. He said cities where segregation is not maintained have been besieged with racial strife.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



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THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS  
Birmingham, Alabama  
December 4, 1955

CITIZENS COUNCIL  
Tarrant, Alabama.  
IS - X.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/99 BY 60267 NLS/BCE/AMW

Let to Birmingham  
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105-33955-15X

105-42926

ENCLOSURE

5-10-55

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-33955)

DATE: 12/16/55

FROM : SAC, MOBILE (105-121)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
IS-X

Rerep SA [ ] dated 12/2/55 at Mobile.

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As instructed by the Bureau this report has been declassified and the intelligence agencies who received copies have been so advised.

Auxiliary offices should reflect on the copies of referenced report that same has been declassified.

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
  - 1 - Atlanta (REGISTERED)
  - 1 - Birmingham (REGISTERED)
  - 1 - Memphis (REGISTERED)
  - 1 - New Orleans (REGISTERED)
  - 1 - Mobile
- JTB:Amd  
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/99 BY 60316/NLS/BCE/AMW

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EX - 124

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/99 BY 60267 NLS/BCE/AMW

c - Mr. [redacted]

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SAC, Mobile (105-121)

January 17, 1956

Director, FBI (105-33955) - 18

RECORDED-53

CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

EX-124

Reurlet dated January 5, 1956, in which you advised that each citizens council in Alabama is a separate organization. You advised that information has been received that a state-wide organization is possibly being formed and that all of the individual councils would be affiliated with this state-wide organization.

You are instructed to furnish the Bureau promptly a list of the names of the individual councils in Alabama.

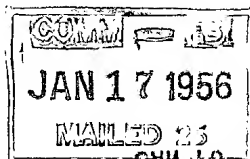
Thereafter, you are instructed to follow closely this situation and take appropriate action to keep the Bureau promptly informed of action being taken to form the state-wide organization.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/99 BY 60267NLS/BCE/AMW

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 1/5/56

FROM : SAC, Mobile

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
IS - X

Reference is made to Bureau memo to Mobile dated 12/12/55, entitled "BUTLER COUNTY CITIZENS COUNCIL, IS - X". Reference is also made to ~~Bureau~~ memo to Birmingham dated 12/19/55 entitled "ALABAMA CITIZENS COUNCILS, IS - X".

The Bureau requested to be advised whether or not the various Citizens Councils are separate autonomous organizations and instructed that if such is the case, a separate report should be submitted on each council formed, but if all councils are affiliated with one state wide organization, all activity should be reported under caption of the state wide organization.

On 12/29/55 Mr. McLEAN ~~PITTS~~, Attorney, Selma, Ala., who was formerly a member of the Executive Staff of the Dallas County Citizens Council, advised that at the present each Citizens Council in Alabama is a separate organization, although there is a close degree of cooperation between the councils. He stated that it is the expressed intention of the councils, however, to come together as soon as possible under a state wide organization. The problem in forming a state organization has been in finding the right man to head the state office.

Mr. M. ALSTON ~~KIETH~~, Attorney and former chairman of the Dallas County Citizens Council advised on 12/29/55 that he is still the legal advisor of that county organization. He stated that a state organization is to be formed of the various councils in Alabama when the right type of man to head the group is found. He stated that an additional reason for not having formed the state organization as yet is the desire to form a few additional county councils first in order that the state organization will be more effective when formed.

While the various councils in the different Alabama counties are presently separate groups, this Office will

2-Bureau (105-33955) (RM)

2-Birmingham (RM)

1-Mobile (105-121)

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/31/91 BY 60262 NISBCE/AMU

Director, FBI

1/5/56

continue, unless advised to the contrary by the Bureau, to report all information concerning the various Citizens Councils in the main file captioned "CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA", Bufile 105-33955. This is being done in view of the information that a state wide organization is to be formed in the not too distant future.

It is noted that both PITTS and KIETH have previously furnished reliable information concerning the Citizens Councils to this Office.

This matter will be followed and in the event information is received indicating that a state organization will not be formed as presently planned, separate reports will then be submitted on each individual council.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mason	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Mr. Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-33955)

DATE: 1/13/56

FROM : SAC, MOBILE (105-121)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
IS-X

On January 5, 1956, the Dallas County Citizens Council, Selma, Alabama, held an open meeting at the Selma Junior High School attended by a reported 1,100 members. Information concerning the speakers and statements made at the meeting as reported by the Selma Times Journal on January 6, 1956 is being set out below as being of interest to the Bureau and to the Little Rock Office. Speakers at the meeting included the following:

HENRY KING, Chairman of the Dallas County Citizens Council, who presided over the meeting;

HENRY W. FANCHER, Dallas County, Alabama, invocation;

Dallas County, Alabama State Senator WALTER C. GIVLIAN who introduced the principal speakers;

[redacted] Hot Springs, Arkansas [redacted] who made the principal address;

JIM JOHNSON, Crossett, Arkansas, Attorney, speaker;

Alabama State Senator SA. ENGLEHARDT, speaker;

M. ALSTON KEITH, Attorney, Dallas County, Alabama, concluded the meeting.

In his address, [redacted] is reported as having attacked the lack of support for the pro-segregation movement being received from Arkansas politicians, newspapers, radio and television stations and then in making reference to the

- 2 - Bureau (105-33955) (Encl. 1)
- 2 - Little Rock (RM)
- 2 - Mobile (105-121)

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66 JAN 31 1956  
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EX-126

6 JAN 16 1956

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/17/99 BY 60322 NLS/bac/pmm

DIRECTOR, FBI

1/13/56

Bureau, the Times Journal states that "[redacted] praised J. EDGAR HOOVER's work as head of the FBI crediting him with saving this country from losing its freedom on many occasions."

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The Times Journal then further quotes [redacted] as follows:

"But in recent years the FBI has become infiltrated by agents with a storm trooper complex who couldn't establish a private practice and enjoy toting a pistol and running over people rough-shod. And these are the kind of individuals that they sent to Arkansas to investigate the Councils. But I tell you what needs investigating is the NAACP. I promise you they couldn't stand to be checked as a Communist front or for other subversive activities."

JIM JOHNSON, described as a former Arkansas State Senator and now Director of Citizens Councils in Arkansas, was reported to have attacked the NAACP and to have asserted that the Citizens Councils will solve the integration problem in a legal and peaceful manner.

Alabama State Senator SAM ENGLEHARDT called attention to a "move by the Justice Department to have the Councils investigated because they proposed to use economic boycotts to preserve segregation" and then drew attention to an economic boycott now being pursued by Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama against the City Bus Lines which is not being investigated.

One copy of the article from the Selma Times Journal, 1/6/56, referred to above, is enclosed herewith for the Bureau. Another copy will be obtained and forwarded to Little Rock.

Bufile: (105-33955)

Mofile: (105-12)

on this  
envelope  
10/27/99 - 100267 N5BCE/amu



105-33955-19

The Selma Times Journal  
Selma, Alabama  
January 6, 1956



**WHITE COUNCIL SPEAKERS**—Two Arkansians who were the principal speakers for a Thursday night mass meeting of the Dallas County Citizens' Council explain to Henry King, center, a publication that is being used in their state in the segregation fight. King is the recently-elected chairman of the Dallas County Citizens' Council and presided over the session. Court Copeland, Hot Springs newspaper editor, left, and Jim Johnson, director of the Arkansas Councils, warned the 1,100 member audience what would happen in Alabama if the Supreme Court de-segregation rulings are taken lying down. (Another picture on page 10).

## Big Audience Cheers Fiery Speeches At White Council

By ARTHUR CAPELL

Fiery addresses by two Arkansians turned a Thursday night rally of the Dallas County Citizens' Council into the most enthusiastic session staged to date by the year-old group and strongly warned the 1100-member audience of the dangers ahead if the segregation ruling is taken "lying down."

Nine counties were represented at the meeting which almost filled the Junior High School auditorium and balcony to capacity.

Two unbilled speakers, Curt Copeland, Hot Springs, Ark., newspaper editor, and Jim Johnson, Crossett, Ark., attorney, made the principal talks. Sen. Sam Engle-

105-33955-19

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10/27/99 60267NLS/Beefman

leader also made a brief address.

#### **Rounds of Applause**

Copeland, whose entire talk was punctuated with roaring rounds of applause, used his state as an example of what Alabama would become if it submitted to integration threats without a fight. He condemned the Arkansas capital for being filled with "the worst mess of trash that ever infested a governmental building in the world."

The editor also branded the press of that state unmercifully and told his audience that newspapers can be the "biggest help or the most damnable curse" in the segregation battle.

"So for God's sake support your local newspaper as long as it supports you," he charged. "Don't ever let it get out from under local control."

Copeland said there is not a newspaper, radio station or television station, "very few preachers and no public officials in Arkansas who will say they are white men or want anyone else to admit they are white."

The press ignores the Citizens' Councils, he said, not even giving their meetings a mention either pro or con.

#### **Meetings Difficult**

The speaker also pointed out that it is difficult to procure a public building in his state in which to hold a meeting. "But let the NAACP hold forth," he accused, "and the politicians will trample children underfoot in a rush to get up on the speakers platform and be identified with the move."

"In Arkansas it is just like it is in your state's top echelon of politics," he said. "There is no way to go from the governor's seat but up."

In urging all-out support of the Citizens' Council move as the only way to fight de-segregation effectively, Copeland assured his audience that "the politicians will join you when you have the strength to attract them."

With this remark he turned to several public officials seated on the speakers platform and added:

"Gentlemen, I was not speaking of you in my comments about politicians, for I regard you as statesmen."

#### **Courage Lacking**

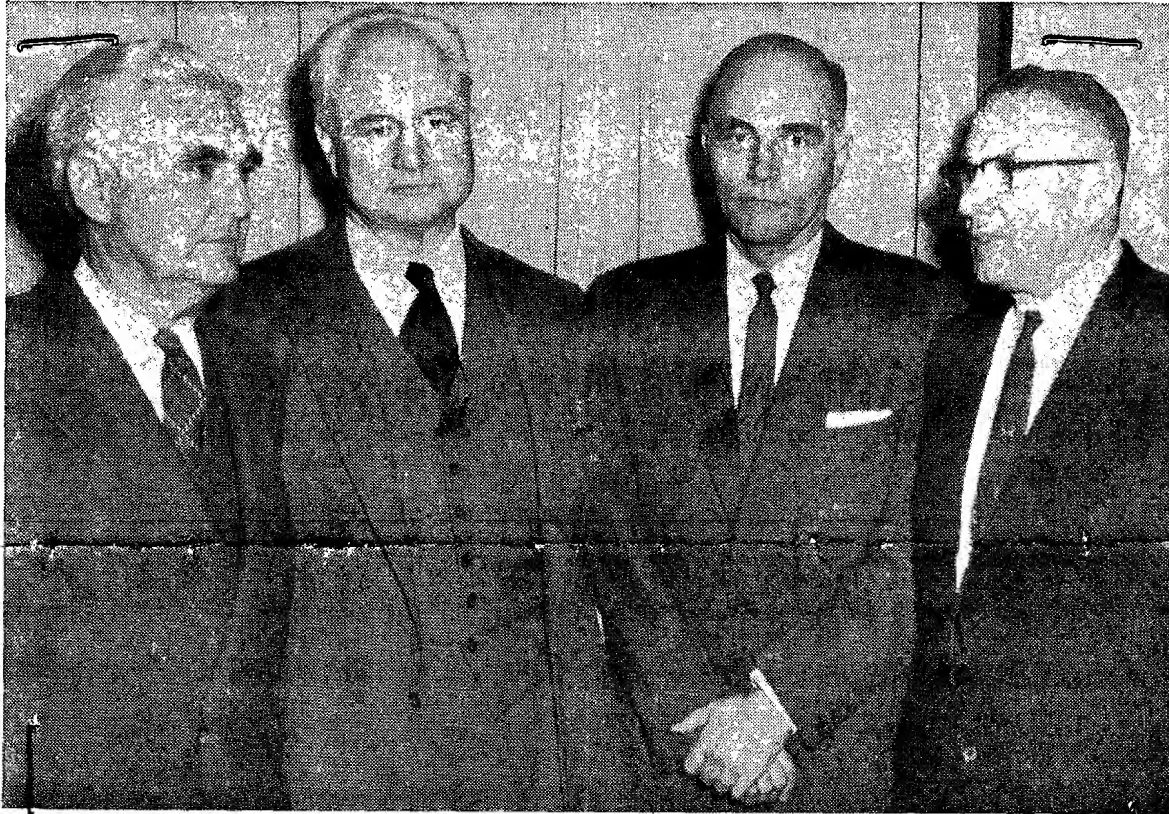
"In Arkansas," he said in explanation, "we didn't have and still don't have an office holder with the courage to stand up on his own two feet and declare publicly he is a white man."

"I asked our governor point-blank," he continued, "whether or not he is proud to be white. To me, that seemed like a simple, perfectly reasonable, easily-answered question."

"But do you know what he said? —'no comment'—and any newspaperman knows that this could only mean two things: that his thinking was in the negative or he had no



Selma Times Journal  
Selma, Alabama  
January 6, 1956



**ON SPEAKERS' PLATFORM**—These four state senators and other public officials on the speakers' platform at a Thursday night meeting of the Dallas County Citizens' Council were labeled as "statesmen, not politicians" by the principal speaker for the occasion. An Arkansas newspaper editor made this high praise after stating that office holders in his state are afraid to stand up and admit being white men. Left to right they are Sen. Albert Davis, Pickens County, Sen. James Coleman, Green, Sen. Sam Englehardt, Macon, and Sen. W. C. Givhan, Dallas. Former Wilcox County Sen. J. M. Bonner, a white supremacy leader in the senate for many years was also seated on the stage and recognized during the meeting.

10/27/99

60767 NIS (Bce/Amw)

105-33955-19



**BIG**

(Continued From Page One)

opinion on the subject. So I agreed with him.

"And apparently," Copeland continued, "he's about the same caliber as this mess of trash you have over here in this state."

Copeland assured, however, that Alabama is ahead of Arkansas in the segregation fight because, on a local level, at least, and in some legislators "there is enough guts for them to take a stand."

#### Supremacy Held Goal

He stated that if de-segregation in schools was the only issue at stake he might not be too alarmed. "But Negro supremacy is the ultimate objective," he declared, "and the federal government, Arkansas government, and I might as well say the Alabama government is helping them achieve this end."

The speaker pointed out that in Arkansas, as in Alabama, practically every education district has bankrupted itself to give Negroes not only equal but better facilities than the whites have.

"But you see, they still aren't satisfied," he said.

#### Supreme Court Hit

He said that only the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to the constitution are the only two of concern any longer to the U. S. Supreme Court and heatedly declared, "I have nothing but contempt for that court that handed down the mixed classroom and other similar decisions."

Copeland gave assurance that the Citizens Council have great strength by stating that without the group in Arkansas every school in the northern part of the state and many in the southern regions would have opened integrated last fall.

"The will of the people is the supreme law of the land and what we stand for shapes the destiny of this country," he declared. "And we must stand united for segregation."

Copeland praised J. Edgar Hoover's work as head of the FBI crediting him with saving this country from losing its freedom on many occasions.

#### FBI Trend Deplored

"But in recent years the FBI has become infiltrated by agents with a storm trooper complex who couldn't establish a private practice and enjoy toting a pistol and running over people rough-shod," he accused. "And these are the kind of individuals that they sent to Arkansas to investigate the Councils."

"But I tell you what needs investigating is the NAACP," he declared. "I promise you they couldn't stand to be checked as a Communist front or for other subversive activities."

Johnson, former state senator and now director of Citizens' Councils in Arkansas, accused the people of his state with "not wanting to know the truth about the NAACP."

"But they are learning," he promised. "At first we could get no support from anyone for the Citizens' Council move and were even asked on many occasions not to hold a meeting in a town. But now the people are receiving us and soon we will have the strength to whip the politicians in line."

#### No Middle Ground

The young attorney warned his listeners that there is no middle ground in the fight. "You are either for complete segregation or against it and you must take a stand," he declared.

"But, if there could be a middle-ground, the Councils are taking it," he contended. "On the far left lies violence, for integration cannot escape violence. On the far right there is also violence; violence which will come from the man who will take the law in his own hands as a last resort."

"In between, however," he continued, "lies the Citizens Councils which will solve the problem in a legal and peaceful manner. That is why I say, if there is a middle-ground, we are taking it."

Johnson warned that integrated schools can only mean an integrated faculty—"your child being taught by a Negro school teacher."

"And what white parent could consent to mixed classrooms when he sees the future of his child unfolded?" he concluded.

Sen. Englehardt, the first speaker, labeled Tuskegee Institute, located in his home county as "the seat of all agitation between the races in this section of the south."

Englehardt, an author of a bill to junk Alabama's public school system if mixed classrooms become mandatory told of a move by the justice department to have the Councils investigated because they proposed to use economic boycotts to preserve segregation, if necessary.

"But right now in Montgomery, 40,000 Negroes are boycotting the city bus lines and between 30-40 drivers are out of jobs as a result," he said. "Where is the justice in that? Why isn't that investigated? I'll tell you why—because the Negroes are doing the boycotting."

In an obvious slap at the governor but without calling his name, Englehardt made this remark in concluding: "That long, lanky man in the northeast corner of the ground floor of the capital wasn't lying when he made a public statement that Negro children wouldn't be forced to attend school with white children; he was just deceiving."

M. Alston Keith, former chairman of the local Council concluded the meeting with a warning that "you can't straddle the fence."

Henry King, recently-elected chairman of the Dallas County Council, presided over the meeting and introduced Sen. Englehardt and others on the speakers platform.

Sen. Walter C. Givhan introduced the two Arkansas speakers.

Seated on the speakers stand were Probate Judge Bernard Reynolds, Mayor Chris Heinz, John T. Moore, Howard Long and Jim Risher, vice-chairmen of the Council, former state Senator J. M. Bonner, Wilcox County; Sen. Albert Davis, Pickens and Sen. James Coleman, Green, and Henry W. Fancher, Southside, who gave the invocation.

SAC, BIRMINGHAM (105-272)

January 27, 1956

RECORDED-89 105-33955-19X  
DIRECTOR, FBI (~~105-42926~~)

EX-121

ALABAMA CITIZENS COUNCILS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Reurlet dated January 13, 1956.

By letter dated January 17, 1956, the Mobile Office was instructed to furnish the Bureau promptly a list of the names of the individual councils in Alabama. That office was instructed thereafter to follow closely the situation concerning the possible formation of a state-wide organization and to keep the Bureau promptly informed of action being taken in that regard.

The Birmingham Office is instructed to do likewise.

cc - Mobile (105-121) (Information)

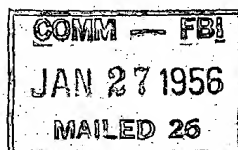
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-24-99 BY 60267 NLS/BCK/mw

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## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 1/13/56

FROM : SAC, Birmingham (105-272)

SUBJECT: ALABAMA CITIZENS COUNCILS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X.

ReBulet to Birmingham, copy to Mobile, 12/19/55, and Mobile letter to Bureau, 1/5/56.

The Citizens Council at Tarrant City, Alabama, is the only council of this type known to have been organized in the Birmingham territory. Indications are that others will possibly be organized. J. H. WHITLEY, Tarrant City druggist, and President of Tarrant Citizens Council, when contacted in another connection recently, volunteered the information that Tarrant City Council is an autonomous organization at this time although it is loosely connected with the White Citizens Councils in South Alabama and Mississippi. He said Tarrant Citizens Council is not affiliated with American States Rights Association of Birmingham.

It will be appreciated if the Bureau will send to Birmingham a copy of any letter answering Mobile letter of 1/5/56. It has been ascertained that the same planning exists in the Birmingham territory as exists in the Mobile area. ACE CARTER, formerly connected with American States Rights Association, recently voluntarily furnished the information that he is organizing White Citizens Councils in Northern Alabama; that a state-wide organization is being planned as soon as the proper leader can be found. CARTER said the Tarrant City Council is self-governing at this time.

However, a separate report will be submitted in the near future on the Citizens Council of Tarrant, Alabama, inasmuch as it is at present an autonomous organization.

- ② Bureau (105-33955) (RM)  
1 Mobile (105-121) (RM)  
2 Birmingham (105-272) (105-281)

CBS:hwb  
(5)

RECORDED-61

63 FEB 1 - 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/21/99 BY 60267 NLS/BCK/mw

105-33955-19X  
~~105-42926-2~~

~~105-33955-20~~

JAN 16 1956

INT 8

*Handwritten:*  
Sent to Birmingham  
C. W. ... 1/27/56

cc - Mr.

b6  
b7c

SAC, Birmingham (105-272)

February 1, 1956

105-33955-19X1

Director, FBI (105-42926) <sup>3</sup>

EX. RECORDED - 47

ALABAMA CITIZENS COUNCILS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

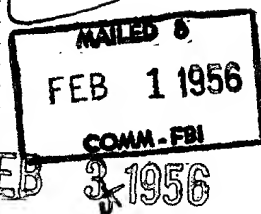
Reurlet January 25, 1956, in which you reported on a meeting held on January 17, 1956, to organize a Citizens Council in Eastern Birmingham.

You are instructed to advise whether this organization is autonomous or whether it is connected with one of the prosegregation organizations about which you have previously advised the Bureau.

CFW:sls  
(4) *sls*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/99 BY 60367 NLS/BCE/AMW

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winters \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



700 31 1 10 11 22

*John*  
*AK*  
*2 8 10 11*  
*W 9 11*  
*CH*

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 1-25-56

FROM : SAC, Birmingham

SUBJECT: ALABAMA CITIZENS COUNCILS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Remylet January 13, 1956.

According to an article in the "Birmingham News" for January 17, 1956, an estimated 1500 persons, from various eastern section communities of Birmingham, met to organize a Citizens Council in Eastern Birmingham. State Senator WALTER GIVHAN, a veteran of twenty years in the Alabama Legislature, said that "We must use strictly legal action. Violence can only bring bad will. And we need the good will of the nation." Senator GIVHAN predicted that before the end of 1956 there will be 200,000 members of the Citizens Councils in Alabama. Referring to Alabama U. S. Senators JOHN SPARKMAN and LISTER HILL, he was quoted as saying "We've not heard much from them" on the segregation integration issues. ACE CARTER, Birmingham service station man, allegedly made a fiery talk. Senator GIVHAN was further quoted as saying "The reason we're here and the reason we've fought these battles is your little boy and your little girl. That's what we're fighting for. We're going to keep these little white boys and these little white girls pure. We're going to do it legally. There is no other way than legally."

John J. Sparkman

Birmingham will follow this matter through established sources.

42926  
2 Bureau (105-33955) (RM)  
1 Birmingham (105-272)

CBS:T

(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/99 BY 60267 NLS/BCE/AMW

105-33955-19X1  
RECORDED - 19  
INDEXED - 19

EX - 107

105-33955-20  
**CHANGED TO**  
105-42926-2

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/99 BY 60367 NLS/BCE/AMW

JAN 24 1956

J. M.

@

Mr. 

SAC, Mobile (105-121)

February 3, 1956

Director, FBI (105-33955)-21

RECORDED - 70

CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Reurlet January 27, 1956, in which you set forth the names of seven Citizens Councils which have been formed in your territory.

While it is realized that all of these organizations may be consolidated into a state-wide organization it does not appear that this action will be taken in the near future, therefore, you are instructed to open a separate case file on each of the seven organizations listed in the referenced letter. Discreet inquiries should be initiated concerning these groups and a separate report containing the results thereof should be submitted on each. Your inquiries should be conducted in accordance with instructions set forth in SAC Letter 55-66.

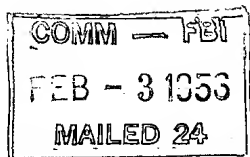
In the event a state-wide organization is formed and all these organizations merge with that organization the separate cases can be closed and thereafter each of them can be reported in connection with the state-wide organization.

cc - Birmingham (For Information)

CFW:prh

(5) *prh*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/99 BY 12082 NLS/BCE/AMU

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



68 FEB 7 1956

FEB 8 1956

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-33955)

FROM : SAC, Mobile (105-121)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
IS - X

DATE: 1/27/56

ReBulet to Mobile, dated 1/17/56, instructing that the Bureau be furnished with a list of the individual Councils in Alabama, and that the situation be closely followed as to formation of a state-wide organization.

The following individual Councils have been organized in this portion of Alabama covered by the Mobile Division:

- 1) Dallas County Citizens Council
- 2) Hale County Citizens Council
- 3) Perry County Citizens Council
- 4) Marengo County Citizens Council
- 5) Wilcox County Citizens Council
- 6) Butler County Citizens Council
- 7) Central Alabama Citizens Council

Information was previously developed reflecting formation of Councils in Macon and Montgomery Counties, although these Councils were consolidated into the Central Alabama Citizens Council. Mobile will continue to report on the above mentioned Councils and reports bearing the title of this communication. The Bureau will be kept informed as to the action taken toward formation of a state-wide organization and in the event same is not done, the Bureau will be notified and separate files opened on each of the above listed Councils.

- ② - Bureau (105-33955) (REGISTERED MAIL)  
1 - Birmingham (Info) (REGISTERED MAIL)  
1 - Mobile (105-121)

JTB:bjw  
(4)

EX. - 116 RECORDED - 70

105-33955-21  
20 JAN 30 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/99 BY 60267 NLS/BCE/AMC



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE 2/1/56

FROM : SAC, Mobile

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

ReMememo to Bureau 1/27/56.

Rev. ROBERT E. HUGHES, State Director, Ala. Council on Human Relations, Montgomery, Ala., advised 1/30/56 that he recently learned from [redacted] who interviewed Hon. SAM EMGLEHART, Chairman, Central Ala. Citizens Council, that a public meeting will be held 2/9/56 at the Coliseum, Montgomery, at which plans will be announced for forming a state organization of captioned group. Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND will be featured speaker at that meeting. Rev. HUGHES will attend, and will furnish details of state organization as announced at the meeting. Bureau will be advised. ALH

b6  
b7C

- ② - Bureau (105-33955)(RM)  
2 - Birmingham (105-172)(RM)  
2 - Mobile (105-121)

WED-ma  
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-15-90 BY 60357 JLF  
293969

RECORDED - 40  
INDEXED - 40

2 FEB 6 1956

EX-121

INT 522

64 FEB 2 1956

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-33955)

DATE: February 2, 1956

FROM : SAC, Birmingham (105-272)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
BIRMINGHAM DIVISION  
IS - X

On February 1, 1956, [redacted]  
[redacted], Bessemer, Alabama, furnished the Birmingham Office with a leaflet which he said was distributed at Bessemer. The leaflet purports to be a speech of [redacted], Professor of Howard University, Washington, D. C., at a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People meeting at Jackson, Mississippi. [redacted] works for [redacted] and is also a ministerial student. He said he received the leaflet from a fellow employee, whom he did not name.

b6  
b7C

Above mentioned leaflet is enclosed for the information of the Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/99 BY 60267 NLS/BCE/AMW

EX-122

RECORDED - 22

INDEXED - 22

25 FEB 6 1956

CBS:MFL

(3) 317

FEB 15 1956

2-Bureau (Encl-1) REGISTERED MAIL  
1-Birmingham (105-272)

IN [redacted]

\_\_\_\_\_. Professor Howard University - Washington, D. C.  
Speaking at N.A.A.C.P. meeting in Jackson, Mississippi

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b7c

"N.A.A.C.P. is affording you the leadership....emancipation is now at hand. White and methodist women have approved our demand for equality. When our demands have become an actuality...we will honor the leaders of Mississippi with blunt persecution. We demand that the War and Navy departments eliminate Jim Crow. Our good friend Marshall Zukov reported to Stalin that he could never understand why the American negro fought for America that so long as the U. S. had those splendid negro soldiers they could never whip America. The negro is the white man's superior. The negro has always excelled. There has never been a white man who could compete with Jackie Robinson...Nat King Cole...Ralph Bunche...Duke Ellington.... We demand the abolition of all state laws which forbid intermarriage of the different races. We demand the removal of the last vestige of barriers. The whole world knows that the white man prefers the negro woman. The white women have been subjected to persecution and restriction. The recent announcement by white women's church organizations serves notice they intend to strike their own shackles. It is well known that the white woman is dissatisfied with the white man, and they along with us demand the right to win and love the negro men of their choice, so they can proudly tell the world he is my man...a man in every respect. The average negro man has adopted the attitude that why buy a cow when he can get plenty of mountain butter for nothing. We demand the right for every negro man or woman to marry the white of his or her choice, if he can find one fit to marry. I am proud of my negro heritage...and I will not mix that negro blood with the stock of an inferior race. And now allow me to bring you the good news of Arkansas Winthrop Rockefeller, our good friend...has assured us that the Governor, Orville...is our friend and will be anxious to meet all our demands though playing along with the segregationists...will do all he demands of him...and all we demand of him...he has promised that we will have representation and control of the State Democratic Committee and that we will dominate that Committee in organization. He has promised us representation and control in the State Educational Department...You can imagine what benefits will accrue to the negro from this appointment...he has promised he will appoint negro to Alcoholic Control Board...he has promised to remove the hideous word "colored" from all toilets and water fountains he has promised that during his second term...the Adjutant General of the Arkansas National Guard will be an outstanding negro. He has promised us that negroes will be integrated into all state colleges. He has promised not to approve any legislation until it is approved by our own the honorable I. S. McClendon. Promised to appoint negroes to the State Pardon and Paroles Board....will fill vacancy on Arkansas University Board with a negro....and the chaplain in the next Arkansas legislature will be an outstanding negro minister. Now hear this we will absolutely control the next election in Arkansas....."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/99 BY 60262 NLS/BCE/AMW

If you wish to help prevent this aim of N.A.A.C.P. contact Citizen's Council

P. O. Box 6221  
Tarrant 7, Alabama

105-33955-23

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM NO. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

BIRMINGHAM

REPORT MADE AT BIRMINGHAM	DATE WHEN MADE 2/2/56	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 1/11,31/56	REPORT MADE BY CHARLES B. STANBERY MFL
TITLE CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA BIRMINGHAM DIVISION			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - X

## SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

2/1/56  
CFW  
Citizens Council organized at Tarrant, Ala. on 11-19-55. JOHN H. WHITLEY, druggist of Tarrant, elected President. According to newspaper article, WHITLEY said, "We want to put pressure on politicians who are not upholding segregation." Tarrant Council held public meeting 1-7-56 with 500-600 present. Informants advise that several individuals present are members or ex-members of Tarrant Klavern No. 15, Ku Klux Klan. Citizens Council organized in East Birmingham on 1-17-56, with estimated 1500 individuals present. Citizens Council reportedly organized in Central Park section on 1-27-56, to be known as West Central Park Citizens Council.

Let BH 2/20/56  
CFW  
COPIES DESTROYED  
21 APR 26 1972

INDEXED  
9-3-5

Copies of this report:

ALL COPIES BY REGISTERED MAIL

- 6 - Bureau (105-33955)  
1 - OSI, Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala.  
1 - G-2, 3rd Army, Ft. McPherson, Ga.  
1 - ONI, 6th Naval District,  
Charleston, S. C.

AGENCY RABOZ, G-2, ONI, OSI  
REQ. REC'D  
DATE FORW. 2-17-56  
HOW FORW. R/S  
BY CFW-el

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/89 BY 60260WLS/ACE/AMW

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	ENCLOSURE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 1 - Memphis (Info) 1 - Mobile (105-121)(Info) 1 - New Orleans (Info) 3 - Birmingham (105-272)		105-33955-24 25 FEB 6 1956	RECORDED - 97 INDEXED - 97 77-122

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BH 105-272

DETAILS:

AT BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

The "Birmingham News," a daily newspaper, published an article on November 9, 1955, entitled "Tarrant Group Patterns itself along White Council Line." This article stated that a Citizens Council was being organized at Tarrant to "help put pressure" on public officials to maintain segregation of the races. The article stated that JOHN H. WHITLEY, Tarrant druggist, advised that the Tarrant Council would be patterned after White Citizens Councils in Mississippi. Mr. WHITLEY was subsequently quoted in this article that "We want to put pressure on politicians who are not upholding segregation."

According to an article published in the "Birmingham News" for November 21, 1955, a Citizens Council was organized at Tarrant, Alabama, on the night of November 19, 1955. JOHN H. WHITLEY, Tarrant druggist, was elected President.

Birmingham Confidential Informant T-1 of unknown reliability, advised on January 11, 1956, that he attended a meeting of the Citizens Council of Tarrant at the Recreation Hall in Tarrant on the night of January 7, 1956. He said it was an open meeting and that anyone might attend who so desired. Informant said that Reverend [redacted] opened the meeting with a prayer. T-1 said he knows Reverend [redacted] to be a member of Tarrant City Klavern No. 15 of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Informant estimated that there were between 500 and 600 individuals present at this meeting. He stated that Dr. J. H. WHITLEY, druggist of Tarrant, and recently elected President of the Tarrant Citizens Council, presided at this meeting. Informant said that ASA CARTER, organizer for the White Citizens Councils in Northern Alabama, made a short talk in favor of segregation; that he played a record of an alleged National Association for the Advancement of Colored People meeting at Jackson, Mississippi. T-1 said that a man was talking on the record about the white people and the Negro people in Mississippi. T-1 said that the man sounded like a Negro talking. T-1 said that the speaker on the record stated in essence that some Negro men were tired of their Negro wives and some Negro women were tired of their Negro husbands; that if they wanted to take white spouses, they should be allowed to do so if they could find any white people fit to marry. T-1 said that as this part of the record was played, the sound of laughter and shouts could be heard. Alabama State Senator SAM ENGLEHARDT of Macon County, Alabama, made a talk attacking Communism and mentioned that Marshal ZUKOV of Russia has praised Negro soldiers and said they were better than white soldiers. b6  
b7C

T-1 stated he saw the following individuals whom he knows as members of Tarrant Klavern No. 15, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, present at the above mentioned meeting of the Tarrant Citizens Council: [redacted]

and [redacted]. T-1 said that [redacted] ALA

BH 105-272

[redacted] is employed by [redacted] as [redacted] and that [redacted] is an employee of [redacted].

b6  
b7c

T-1 further stated that individuals representing the communities of Central Park, East Lake and Center Point were present at the above meeting on the night of January 11, 1956. T-1 said he has heard that [redacted] was prominently mentioned as a possible president of a citizens council at Roebuck, a community in East Birmingham. ALA

Birmingham Confidential Informant T-2, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in the Spring of 1954, that the name JOHN H. WHITLEY, not further identified, appeared on a membership list of the Dr. L. S. Fennell Ku Klux Klan No. 15 of Tarrant, Alabama, for the year 1951.

5/10/6

The Ku Klux Klan has been cited by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Birmingham News" for January 10, 1956, published an article entitled, "Citizens Council Hears Plans for Maintaining Segregation". This article stated that several hundred members of the Tarrant Citizens Council heard Alabama State Senator SAM ENGELHARDT, JR., of Macon County, author of "Segregation Legislation," speak of similar citizens' groups in other sections of Alabama and the South. The article stated that Senator ENGELHARDT spoke on Saturday night, January 7, 1956, at Tarrant, Alabama. He indicated that plans are being shaped to help maintain segregation of the races in Alabama. The article quoted JOHN H. WHITLEY, Tarrant druggist, Council President, to the effect that a recording of a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People meeting at Jackson, Mississippi was played "to give further proof to our members of that organization's aims." WHITLEY was further quoted as saying, "Our council is fighting not only to help maintain segregation in our schools and in our parks and playgrounds, but we are waging a fight on Communism." WHITLEY said, according to this article, that the Tarrant Council now had more than 300 members and that a membership fee of \$3.00 is charged those who join, which money is used for mailing expenses. This article indicated that CURRY BIBB is Vice President and EARL BAILEY is Secretary-Treasurer of the Tarrant Citizens Council. ALA

~~EAST~~ BIRMINGHAM CITIZENS COUNCIL ALA

According to an article in the "Birmingham News" for January 17, 1956, an estimated 1500 persons from various eastern communities of Birmingham met to organize a citizens council in Eastern Birmingham. State Senator WALTER GIVAN, a veteran of 20 years in the



BH 105-272

Alabama Legislature said, "We must use strictly legal action. Violence can only bring bad will and we need the good will of the nation." Senator GIVHAN predicted that before the end of 1956, there will be 200,000 members of the Citizens Councils in Alabama. According to the above mentioned article, Senator GIVHAN stated that, "We've not heard much from them", referring to U. S. Senators JOHN SPARKMAN and LISTER HILL of Alabama. According to the article, ASA CARTER, Birmingham service station man, allegedly made a fiery talk. Senator GIVHAN was further quoted as saying, "The reason we're here and the reason we fought these battles is your little boy and your little girl. That's what we're fighting for. We're going to keep these little white boys and these little white girls pure. We're going to do it legally. There is no other way than legally." *Abt*

Birmingham Confidential Informant T-3, another governmental agency conducting intelligence investigations, advised on January 13, 1956, that it had obtained some literature concerning the organizational meeting of the East Birmingham Citizens Council, referred to above. This literature included a letter which is as follows:

"Dear Fellow Citizen:

"The first open meeting of the Citizens Council of the Eastern Section of Birmingham, will be held at the Cascade Plunge, 68th Street and Second Avenue, South, on Monday night January 16th at 8 P.M.

"This meeting will feature an address by State Senator WALTER C. GIVHAN of Safford, Ala., with information on segregation and the recent regional meeting of the Federation for Constitutional Government; and also an explanation of the Citizens Council movement by ACE CARTER, executive secretary, North Alabama, Citizens Councils.

"You will be given an opportunity to associate yourself with this movement - an opportunity to ACTIVELY support segregation.

"Nothing can be done individually, but much can be done collectively.

"Many have said that it will never happen here, BUT the University of Alabama has been ORDERED to admit Negroes beginning this month.

"We know that big money is against us, but no amount of money can whip a determined organization of white people, if we will organize.

"THIS WE CAN DO -- THIS WE ARE DOING.

"If you are unalterably opposed to integration we need you and you need us.

BH 105-272

"Plan now to attend this meeting and bring a friend. Membership is open only to white men and women of determination.

"CITIZENS COUNCIL  
EASTERN SECTION OF BIRMINGHAM."

The above mentioned literature contained a reprint allegedly from "Twin City Sentinel," Winston-Salem, North Carolina, August 31, 1955, entitled "Intermarriage to Follow Integration, Man Thinks". This article quoted ALBERT A. KENNEDY, a graduate of the South Carolina State College and State Counselor for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to the effect that, "once the two races are integrated, intermarriage is the natural consequence." Also in this literature was a reprint of an article entitled, "Land of One Race", allegedly taken from the "Washington Afro-American News." T-3 said that the literature included a large photograph of a Negro soldier and a white girl, posed together, and underneath the picture, the following article:

"A few minutes before this picture was taken, a marriage license was issued to them in the Winnebago County Courthouse. About 20 minutes later they were married.

"The bride's name was [redacted], age 18, [redacted], Madison, Wis. The groom was [redacted] [redacted], 23, stationed at Truax Field outside of Madison. His home address was given as [redacted], Chicago, Ill.

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b7C

"They had known each other for two years before deciding to become man and wife. Both were happy to be photographed and the lovely Miss [redacted], unfearful of sharp tongues which might be aimed at the marriage, sweetly said: 'I'm not afraid of what people will say. I love [redacted].'"

WEST CENTRAL PARK CITIZENS COUNCIL *ALA*

T-3, above mentioned, advised on January 25, 1956, that it had received some literature concerning a proposed meeting of the West Central Park Citizens Council, to be held in Birmingham on January 27, 1956. T-3 said this literature contained an application for membership in the West Central Park Citizens Council; that this application indicated dues to be \$3.00, which should be returned to P. O. Box 3755, West End Branch, Birmingham, Alabama. This material contained a letter similar to the letter set out above in connection with the East Birmingham Citizens Council. This letter stated: "We say integration will never happen, BUT, already the University of Alabama has been ordered to admit all Negroes. Do you think integration will stop there?"



BH 105-272

"If Negroes are permitted to attend school with our children, what is to prevent them from mixing at social functions... and doesn't it naturally follow that if they are allowed to associate with our children in every phase of their lives that courtships, love and marriage could result?

"We say it will never happen and yet our governor, JIM FOLSON, has stated, while in the company of a Negro congressman from New York, that it is inevitable and there is nothing you can do about it. The Citizens Council movement says there is something you can do about it...."

This literature also contained what appeared to be a reprint of an article by PAUL ROBESON, entitled "Mississippi Today - History in the Making." A reprint from the "Daily Worker" of May 26, 1928, setting forth some demands being made by the Communist Party. This article contained the following:

"The Communist Party considers it as its historic duty to unite all workers regardless of their color against the common enemy, against the master class. The negro race must understand that capitalism means racial oppression and Communism means social and racial equality."

The Communist Party has been cited by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

T-3 said this literature contained one page entitled, "What You Can Do as an Individual to Preserve White America!!" also one reprint of a page containing photographs of white girls and Negro men and Negro women and white men. One of these photographs appears to be a picture of AVA GARDNER, the movie actress, and a Negro man. Below these photographs of mixed couples is the following: "If our buildings, our highways, our railroads should be wrecked, we could rebuild them. If our cities should be destroyed, out of the very ruins we could erect newer and greater ones. Even if our armed might should be crushed, we could rear sons who would redeem our power. But if the blood of our white race should become corrupted and mingled with the blood of Africa, then the present greatness of the United States of America would be destroyed and all hope for the future would be forever gone. The maintenance of American civilization would be as impossible for a negroid America as would the redemption and restoration of the white man's blood which had been mixed with that of the Negro."

BH 105-272

ADMINISTRATIVE

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity Or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>	<u>File Number where Located</u>
T-1: [ ]	Re Citizens Council of Tarrant, Ala.	1-11-56	CHARLES B. STANBERY	105-281-7
T-2: [ ]	Klan membership of JOHN H. WHITLEY	Febru- ary, March & April, 1954.	[ ]	BH 65-398-1092, p. 610
T-3: CIC Region IV, 111th Det., Birmingham	Re literature of East Birmingham Citizens Council	1-13-56	CHARLES B. STANBERY	BH 105-272
"	Re literature of West Central Park Citizens Council	1-25-56	CHARLES B. STANBERY	BH 105-272

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

CAREFUL CONSIDERATION HAS BEEN GIVEN TO EACH SOURCE CONCEALED AND "T" SYMBOLS WERE USED IN THIS REPORT ONLY IN THOSE INSTANCES WHERE THE IDENTITIES OF THE SOURCES MUST BE CONCEALED.

A copy of this report is furnished to the Memphis, Mobile and New Orleans Offices because of similar activity in these divisions.

LEADS

THE BIRMINGHAM DIVISION

At Birmingham, Alabama

Will continue to report on activities of subject organization.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

BH 105-272

ADMINISTRATIVE

REFERENCE:

Bureau Letter to Birmingham dated January 5, 1956, in the case entitled, "Citizens Councils, Tarrant, Alabama; Internal Security - X," Bureau file 105-43031.

Birmingham Letter to Bureau dated January 13, 1956, in the case entitled, "Alabama Citizens Councils; Internal Security - X," Bureau file 105-33955.

Bureau Letter to Birmingham dated January 27, 1956, in the case entitled, "Alabama Citizens Councils; Internal Security - X."

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-33955)

DATE: February 2, 1956

FROM : SAC, Birmingham (105-272)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA,  
BIRMINGHAM DIVISION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Rebulet to Birmingham dated January 5, 1956, in the case entitled "Citizens Councils, Tarrant, Alabama; Internal Security - X."

Referenced letter requested that a report suitable for dissemination be submitted to reach the Bureau no later than February 6, 1956, concerning Citizens Council at Tarrant, Alabama.

At the present time there are only three known Citizens Councils in the Northern District of Alabama--the Tarrant, Alabama Council, the East Birmingham and the West Central Park Councils. Both Birmingham and Mobile have received information and have advised the Bureau that apparently all Councils in Alabama will shortly be consolidated into one State organization. Mobile has advised the Bureau that they will continue to submit reports under the general caption, "Citizens Councils of Alabama; Internal Security - X" unless advised to the contrary. Mobile has also advised that when the State organization is perfected, the Bureau will be advised and a determination can be made as to the proper office of origin. In view of the above information, it was deemed feasible for the Birmingham Office to submit a report under the caption "Citizens Councils of Alabama, Birmingham Division; Internal Security - X" and set forth information which has been received concerning the three councils in the Birmingham territory. Birmingham will be carried as office of origin in the above mentioned file unless advised to the contrary by the Bureau.

ASA CARTER who is organizing White Citizens Councils in Northern Alabama, has recently stated publicly that he intends to set up a state-wide organization in Alabama when the proper leader can be found. If this is true, it will only be a short time apparently until all the Citizens Councils are consolidated into one state-wide organization in Alabama.

Reference is made to Bureau letter to Birmingham dated January 27, 1956, in the case entitled "Alabama Citizens Councils; Internal Security - X."

2-Bureau (Encls-6) REGISTERED  
1-Mobile (105-121) REGISTERED (Encl-1)  
1-BH 105-281  
1-BH 105-241  
1-BH 105-272  
CBS:MFL

ENCLOSURE  
RECORDED - 97  
105-33955-24  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/27/99 BY 60267 NLS/BCH/mw

25 FEB 6 1956

64 FEB 27 1956

BH 105-272

Referenced letter of January 27, 1956 refers to a letter from the Bureau to Mobile dated January 17, 1956, in which the Mobile Office was instructed to furnish the Bureau promptly with a list of the names of the individual Councils in Alabama and to follow closely the situation concerning the possible formation of a state-wide organization and to keep the Bureau informed of action being taken in that regard. The Birmingham Office was instructed to do likewise.

The desired information has been set forth above and the Birmingham Office will closely follow the situation concerning the possible formation of a state-wide organization in this matter.

ENCLOSURES TO THE BUREAU: Six copies report of SA CHARLES B. STANBERY, Birmingham, dated February 2, 1956, captioned "Citizens Councils of Alabama, Birmingham Division; Internal Security - X."

ENCLOSURE TO MOBILE: One copy report of SA STANBERY as described above.

cc Liaison Section  
cc Mr.

b6  
b7c

105-33955-25  
RECORDED-20

Date: February 8, 1956

EX-127 To: Director of Special Investigations  
The Inspector General  
Department of the Air Force BY COURIER SERVICE  
Building Tempo E  
4th and Adams Drive, S. W.  
Washington, D. C.

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

On January 25, 1956, a Special Agent of the Office of Special Investigations, Craig Air Force Base, Selma, Alabama, contacted the Mobile Office of this Bureau for the purpose of securing a list of the members of the citizens council in Dallas County, Alabama. Reportedly this information was needed in connection with a letter dated January 24, 1956, addressed to the Commanding Officer of Craig Air Force Base which was signed "Anonymous" and in which it was alleged that "civilians who are associated with an organization whose aim is to promote racial segregation" had recently been employed in the civilian personnel office of that base. The anonymous sender of the letter solicited the help of the Commanding Officer in insuring fair and just treatment for Negroes.

The Mobile Office of this Bureau advised the Special Agent of the Office of Special Investigations that all pertinent information concerning the captioned organization had previously been furnished to the Office of Special Investigations in investigative reports.

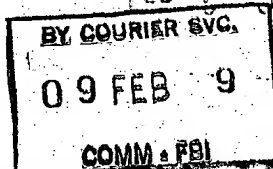
The above is being furnished you for your information. Four investigative reports concerning the Citizens Councils of Alabama have been furnished you by this Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/17/99 BY 60322/UC/LAN/ML

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

CFW:d1j

(5)



64 FEB 13 1956

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-33955)

FROM : *X* SAC, Mobile (105-121)

SUBJECT: *O* CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

DATE: 1/30/56

On 1/25/56, , Special Agent, OSI,  
Craig Air Force Base, exhibited the following quoted letter:

b6  
b7c

"Jan. 24, 1956

"Commanding Officer  
Craig Air Base  
Selma, Alabama

"Dear Sir:

"We are a group of negro civilians employed at Craig Air Base. We have just learned that civilians who are associated with an organization whose aim is to promote racial segregation have recently been employed in the Civilian Personnel Office. How can the policy of the Federal Government regarding fair employment practices be enforced when personnel responsible for classification, hiring and promotions have publically displayed prejudice against the negro.

"We earnestly solicit your help for we know that as a representative of the Federal Government you will insure us fair and just treatment.

"We, in appreciation, must remain

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/21/99 BY 60360 NLS/BE/CLM

"Respectfully,

Anonymous "

The envelope was postmarked "Selma, Ala., Jan. 25, 1956, 7:30 A.M." Three one (1) cent stamps were used as postage. The envelope was addressed to:

"Col. HARRY HAWTHORN  
Craig Air Base  
Selma, Alabama "

RECORDED-20

105-33955-25

- ② - Bureau (105-33955) (REGISTERED MAIL) 11 FEB 9 1956  
1 - Mobile (105-121)

JTB-bjw  
(3)

EX-122

*Baumgardner*  
*INT*

Director, FBI (105-33955)

1/30/56

[ ] stated that Col. HAWTHORNE had requested the OSI office at Craig AFB to ascertain the names of all the civilian personnel employed in the Civilian Personnel Office. Thereafter, HAWTHORNE stated he would like to know if any of those persons so employed were members of the local White Citizens Council in Dallas County, Ala. He merely wants this information as background in the event the allegations are made again.

[ ] related HAWTHORNE expressly stated this information and letter must remain confidential and no active or open investigation was to be made.

[ ] advised he plans to obtain the names of the individuals employed in the Civilian Personnel Office in an after hour search of the base locator files, in that way avoiding any inquiring of personnel in the locator office.

[ ] stated he thought perhaps the FBI had a roster of the membership in the local White Citizens Council and a cross check could be made of the names. [ ] also advised he could discreetly ascertain if such alleged incidents have taken place which would cause such a letter. [ ] stated he would immediately keep this agent informed of any further activity.

[ ] was advised that OSI has been furnished with investigative reports in this matter and all pertinent available information has been furnished OSI.

The above is submitted for information of the Bureau.



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Rosen

DATE: 2-10-56

FROM : Mr. Price

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION  
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

Tolson  
Boardman  
Belmont  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Ladd  
Nichols  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Harbo  
Mohr  
Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Holloman  
Gandy

This is to record that at 4:50 p.m. on 2-10-56, Supervisor [redacted] of the Civil Rights Unit was telephonically advised by [redacted] A. B. Caldwell, Chief, Civil Rights Section, Criminal Division, that Caldwell had received a telephone call from Thurgood Marshall, General Counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. According to Caldwell, Marshall was referring to a meeting scheduled to be held in Montgomery, Alabama. Caldwell was going to furnish a memorandum to the Bureau regarding the conversation. Caldwell stated he had mentioned the conversation to Olney and Olney felt the information should be forwarded to the Bureau. Caldwell requested no action. Memorandum submitted for information.

b6  
b7C

The attached memorandum\* from the Criminal Division was received at 5:06 p.m., and contains a description of the conversation between Marshall and Caldwell. The transcript indicates that Eastland (probably Senator James Eastland of Mississippi) is going to be at a meeting in Montgomery, Alabama, and that individuals who had been arrested in connection with the demonstration at the University of Alabama over the attendance of [redacted] at the University, would speak at the Montgomery meeting. By teletype 2-8-56 the Birmingham Office advised that a meeting of the White Citizens Council was scheduled to be held in Montgomery, Alabama, on 2-10-56. Allen Hayfield, Marshal, University of Alabama Police, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, had advised the Mobile Office that [redacted] and [redacted], both of Montgomery, had sought permission to use public address system of the University of Alabama campus 2-7-56 to advertise such meeting. Marshall feared there would be trouble at the meeting.

44-9947-20

ACTION:

As this concerns the meeting of the White Citizens Council, this information has been brought to the attention of the Internal Security Section of the Domestic Intelligence Division, for any necessary action.

\* MEMORANDUM WAS FURNISHED TO INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION AT 5:08 PM 2/10/56. GLM

ENCLOSURE  
cc: 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

GLM:mas  
(7)

ENCLOSURE

SEE ADDENDUM, PAGE TWO

65 FEB 21 1956

105-133955

FEB 20 1956

SIX

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

ADDENDUM DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION - 2-10-56

At 6:45 p.m. 2/10/56, SAC Fred Hallford at Mobile was telephonically advised by Inspector Joseph A. Sizoo of information that there may be trouble at the meeting tonight in Montgomery as received by the Department from Thurgood Marshall. Hallford was instructed to have no agents participate in any way in this meeting and for agents to stay clear of this matter. Hallford was also instructed to advise the Bureau telephonically in the event a racial disturbance occurs and to advise Bureau by teletype of results of meeting in event there is no disturbance. Hallford also advised there is no need to notify local police concerning this matter, inasmuch as they are no doubt cognizant of the potential for violence due to the current racial situation in Montgomery.

Upon receipt of information relative to this meeting, it will be furnished the Department and interested Government agencies. It was not considered advisable to make tape recording of this meeting as suggested by Thurgood Marshall nor was it believed advisable to contact Senator Eastland's office regarding this matter.

Mr. Boardman and Mr. Nichols were advised of the above action and agreed.

CFW:mk

ADDENDUM: (2/11/56)

As of 2:00 P.M. today advice has not been received from Mobile Office with reference to last night's meeting in Montgomery, Alabama; however, news releases reflect that Senator Eastland did address a White Citizens Council rally in Montgomery last evening and there was no information in the releases indicating any type of a racial incident occurred.

JAS:ejf

(EASTLAND)

MONTGOMERY, ALA.--SEN. JAMES O. EASTLAND TOLD A WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL RALLY HERE TONIGHT THAT "EVERY COUNTY, EVERY CITY AND EVERY COMMUNITY" MUST ORGANIZE TO FIGHT RACIAL INTEGRATION.

THE MISSISSIPPI DEMOCRAT, SPEAKING TO A LARGE CROWD OF SEGREGATIONISTS AT THE HUGE STATE AGRICULTURAL COLISEUM, PRAISED THE ALABAMA LEGISLATURE FOR PASSING AN "INTERPOSITION" RESOLUTION WHICH DECLARES THAT THE U.S. SUPREME COURT SEGREGATION RULINGS ARE "NULL, VOID AND OF NO EFFECT" IN ALABAMA.

"GENERATIONS YET UNBORN WILL BLESS YOUR NAME," EASTLAND SAID OF THE LEGISLATURE.

"YOU HAVE ASSERTED IN PLAIN AND UNEQUIVOCAL LANGUAGE THAT THE PEOPLE OF ALABAMA WILL NOT BE SUBJECTED TO JUDICIAL TYRANNY BY A NINE-MAN OLIGARCHY THAT HAS DEPARTED FROM EVERY PRECEDENT OF LAW AND REASON."

ALABAMA GOV. JAMES E. FOLSOM SAID EARLIER TODAY AT A PRESS CONFERENCE THAT HE HAS NO OBJECTIONS TO ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS BUT ADDED THAT "NOTHING BASED ON HATE CAN EXIST FOR ANY LENGTH OF TIME IN A CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY."

"I FAVOR WHITE COUNCILS, RED AND BLACK COUNCILS," THE GOVERNOR SAID. BUT HE ADDED THAT "I CANNOT LEAD THIS STATE IF I BASE MY THINKING ON HATE."

FOLSOM WAS NOT INVITED TO THE RALLY. A COUNCIL SPOKESMAN SAID THE GOVERNOR WAS OPPOSED TO THE MOVEMENT.

2/10--JR1104P

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

105-33955

b6  
b7C

- Mr. [REDACTED]

SAC, Birmingham (105-272)

February 20, 1956

Director, FBI (105-33955)

CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

b6  
b7c

Rerep of Special Agent Charles B. Stanberry  
dated February 2, 1956.

This report is captioned "Citizens Councils  
of Alabama, Birmingham Division, Internal Security - X,"  
although it pertains to Citizens Council, Tarrant,  
Alabama, which you previously advised is an autonomous  
organization. This report also contains information  
concerning citizens councils at Roebuck, East  
Birmingham and West Central Park.

Although these citizens councils may be  
affiliated with the Citizens Councils of Alabama, a  
separate report on each should be submitted if they  
are autonomous; therefore, you are instructed to  
submit immediately a report captioned "Citizens Council  
Tarrant, Alabama," and also advise whether the other  
three citizens councils mentioned in rerep are autonomous.

In the future when information is received  
relative to a citizens council being formed, you should  
immediately establish whether it is separate and self-  
governing or whether it is merely a local chapter of a  
state-wide organization. In the former event a separate  
report should be submitted under the caption of the name  
of the citizens council rather than under the caption of  
the state-wide group. As an example, the Savannah Office  
is submitting separate reports on approximately 50 citizens  
councils organized in the State of South Carolina, many  
of which are affiliated with but not chapters of a  
state-wide organization.

cc - Mobile (For Information) **RECORDED - 21** **105-33955-26**

cc Bufile 105-43031

7 FEB 21 1956

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

CFW:prh

(6)

EX-113

**COMM - FBI**  
**FEB 20 1956**  
**MAILED 19**

Fxr  
wct  
wct

CFW

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

105-43031

4 FEB 27 1956

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-33955)

FROM : SAC, Mobile (105-121)

SUBJECT: (C) CITIZENS COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
IS - X

DATE: 2/14/56

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mason	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Re Mobile teletype to Director, 2/11/56.

Attached hereto are two copies each of the following newspaper items pertaining to the Central Alabama Citizens Council rally on 2/10/56, held at Montgomery, Ala.:

- (1) Item appearing in "Montgomery Advertiser", Montgomery, Ala., under date of 2/11/56, captioned "Senator Hits NAACP Move at Rally Here".
- (2) Item appearing in "Montgomery Advertiser", Montgomery, Ala., under date of 2/11/56, captioned "Reception for EASTLAND".
- (3) Item appearing in "Montgomery Advertiser", Montgomery, Ala., under date of 2/11/56, captioned "Coliseum Crowd Overflows to Hear 'Dixie Defender'".
- (4) Item appearing in "Montgomery Advertiser", Montgomery, Ala., under date of 2/11/56, captioned "[redacted] and [redacted] Cheered".

In addition to the remarks of Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND appearing in the clippings, the additional remarks of Senator EASTLAND during the same address are paraphrased from notes taken by SA [redacted], who monitored the radio broadcast of the meeting:

Senator EASTLAND inferred that pressure groups "control the Supreme Court and the President of the United States".

During a section of the speech in which Senator EASTLAND was advocating the organization of every county, city and community in a "grass roots" organization like the Citizens Council, and in which he referred to the Citizens Council as a "hard and inflexible core of resistance" to integration, and urging that every "legal means" be used to

2-Bureau (105-33955) (Encls. 8) (AM)  
1-Mobile (105-121)  
WED-vlw

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ENCLOSURE

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105-33955-27

FEB 16 1956

1704

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-24-88 BY SP-2 JAB/SP-6  
SP-80573/10/P 6-12-98 293968

Director, FBI

2/14/56

preserve the system of segregation, he quoted ABRAHAM LINCOLN as either writing or saying, "Overthrow not the Constitution, but the men who pervert it". Defining "Anglo-Saxon" law as the codification of the will and custom of the people, he stated "When you follow custom, you follow the law".

Senator EASTLAND referred to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as a "front organization", and an "action group" behind which are the Ford Foundation, labor groups, and "a half-dozen foundations", all of which expend enormous amounts of money to secure "civil rights" and to "bring about racial amalgamation in the South". He charged that UNESCO, a branch of the United Nations organization, largely financed by the United States government, spends great amounts of money for propaganda to bring about racial amalgamation.

He charged that the Supreme Court decision against segregation in schools is an attempt to destroy the power and sovereignty of the States of the United States.

Referring to an alleged statement by President EISENHOWER that integrated schools would be "glorious and shining examples" of how well the integrated system would work, Senator EASTLAND said that the President is "trying to hide his examples". The Senator had previously charged that in those schools where recent integration had taken place, the scholastic averages had been lowered, and that "indecent proposals" had been made to "little girls".

Senator EASTLAND said also that a fundamental principle of the Citizens Council should be to see "that no man is mistreated". He said, "Acts of violence hurt the cause of the South", and are used as propaganda against "us". He said, "We can and will win within the law".

He pointed out the possibility of segregation being maintained in the schools by basing it not on color or race, but on a "moral" basis, and on the basis of the inherent police power of the state, and to "promote peace". He urged that each state adopt legal means of some similar nature to preserve segregation. He urged the "constitutional and legal" means of "interposition", and cited the historical success of this device.

Director, FBI

2/14/56

Characterizing the present era as "an era of Judicial tyranny", the Senator said, "Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God".

ALA  
Reverend ROBERT ~~X~~HUGHES, State Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, Montgomery, advised on 2/13/56 that he attended the above rally, but noted no incidents of disorder or violence. His account of the speeches added nothing to information already possessed. Mr. EUGENE S. ~~X~~HALL, Montgomery, Educational Committee Chairman of the Central Alabama Citizens Councils, advised on 2/13/56 that the rally was free of any violence or any disturbances. No direct inquiry was made of Mr. HALL concerning the organization, inasmuch as his discretion is not so well established that he could be trusted not to mention to other officers of the Central Alabama Citizens Council that such inquiry had been made. ALA



# Senator Hits NAACP Move At Rally Here

By BOB INGRAM

U.S. Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss) told a cheering throng at the State Coliseum last night he was sure that "you and Alabama are not going to permit the NAACP to take over your schools."

This remark, in obvious reference to rioting on the University of Alabama campus earlier this week, came at the outset of his address when he mentioned he was an alumnus of the University.

"I am sure you are not going to permit the NAACP to control your state, and you are not going to permit that organization to use your little children as pawns in a game of racial politics," Eastland told the crowd.

## RECORD CROWD

Eastland spoke at a Citizens Council rally which attracted the largest crowd in history to the huge coliseum. Coliseum Manager Tom Reid estimated the crowd at 11,000. Montgomery Police Commissioner Clyde Sellers, one of the speakers on the program, said the figure might run as high as 15,000 counting several hundred who couldn't find seats.

Robert Patterson, executive secretary of the Mississippi White Citizens Council, in speaking on the program, said the crowd in attendance last night was the "largest segregation gathering in recent history of the South."

## ONE MENTION

Sen. Eastland made but the one mention of the University situation and completely sidestepped Montgomery's own bus boycott in his 36-minute address. He deleted the last six pages of his prepared address as the crowd began to move toward the exits in increasing numbers.

Eastland called on the white people of the South to organize in a massive "grass roots" campaign to resist racial integration.

But he insisted the "fight we wage must be a just and legal fight. Acts of violence and lawlessness have no place in our organization."

## SINGLE COURSE

"There is only one course open for the South to take, and that is stern resistance; there is no other alternative," he continued. "We must fight them with every legal weapon at every step of the way. Southern people are right both legally and morally."

Eastland said there was but one prescription for victory and that was to "organize and be militant."

In calling for the creation of a "regional commission" to answer the attacks made upon the South, Eastland said it was imperative that public funds be employed in this effort.

Calling the U.S. Supreme Court's desegregation decree "illegal, immoral, dishonest and a disgrace," the Mississippi senator said the South had entered an "era of judicial tyranny."

## HOLDING STEADFAST

"And the Anglo-Saxon people have held steadfast to the belief that resistance to tyranny is obedience to God," he added.

Eastland was given a thunderous ovation when he was introduced, while a band played "Dixie."

The program opened with a prayer by the Rev. George W. Cheek of the Alabama Avenue Presbyterian Church in Selma who prayed that God "end the cold war that exists between Federal bureaucracy and local self government."

State Sen. Sam Engelhardt Jr. of Macon County, chairman of the Central Alabama Citizens' Council which sponsored the rally, was the opening speaker.

Engelhardt said the time had come for "white men to stand up and be counted."

"This is no time for pussy-footing," he said. (See EASTLAND, Page 8A)

## Eastland

(Continued from Page 1-A)

ing, but a time to take a stand and be counted on one side or the other," Engelhardt declared.

Later, as Engelhardt introduced a number of guests on the speakers' platform, the crowd began to yell, "Where's Big Jim?" Gov. Folsom had said earlier in the day he would attend a Mental Health Society dinner in Birmingham.

Mayor W. A. Gayle and Commissioners Sellers and Frank Parks also spoke briefly.

"We are all for equal facilities for the races," Gayle said, "but we are also for segregation."

He was given a tremendous ovation when introduced, exceeding that given any of the other speakers.

Sellers also brought a rousing cheer when he opened his remarks by saluting a Confederate flag adjoining the rostrum.

"If any Negro wants desegregation, then let him go where there is desegregation," Sellers declared. "And let me say again what I have said before: I will not sell my Southern birthright for any number of Negro votes."

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook of Georgia, another featured speaker on the program, said for years he had used "polite and legal terms" in fighting the Supreme Court decision, but added "the time has now come to instead use defiance, nullification and refusal to obey."

"We will not permit racial suicide in Georgia at any price," the fiery Cook declared, "and I am sure the people of Alabama feel the same way."

Cook said the real goal of the NAACP is to "strike down all racial barriers, including that of racial intermarriage."

At the close of the program Sen. Engelhardt appealed to the crowd to "go home peacefully and orderly."

The audience took with them thousands of printed copies of what the Citizens' Council described as a transcript of a speech made at an NAACP meeting in Mississippi in December, 1954 demanding an end to all segregation.

## HEADLINE :

THRONGS PACK COLISEUM  
FOR EASTLAND'S ADDRESS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5-24-75 BY SP-2 TAP/lyz  
6-12-90





## RECEPTION FOR EASTLAND

Sen. James O. Eastland, of Mississippi, second from right, discusses White Citizens Council plans with other leading WCC figures shortly after arriving in Montgomery by plane yesterday. Pictured, left to right, are Eugene Cook, Georgia attorney general, who is accompanying Eastland, Luther Ingalls, president of Central Alabama Citizens Council, and State Senator Sam Englehardt, Macon County.—Photo by Owens



SEN. SAM ENGLEHARDT  
CACC Leader

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21 APR 26 1972

MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER  
Montgomery, Ala.  
February 21, 1960  
Page 8 17

105-33955-27



## Crowd Greet Sen. Eastland After Arrival

By FRANK McARDLE

A smiling, cigar-smoking Sen. James O. Eastland alighted from a Delta airlines DC3 plane yesterday, and was whisked away by a distinguished reception committee to a local hotel preparatory to a Citizens Council address last night at the Alabama Coliseum.

Sen. Eastland, accompanied by Eugene Cook, Georgia Attorney General, a leader in Citizen Council activities, arrived around 4:50 p.m. and left immediately for the Jefferson Davis Hotel.

### ADVANCE MATERIAL

Eastland, carrying a large portfolio containing advance material for his speech, greeted an enthusiastic crowd at the airport. The reception committee, including two state legislators, Sen. Walter Givhan, of Dallas County, and Sam Engelhardt, Macon County, and Luther Ingalls, director of Central Alabama Citizens Council.

Eastland, senior Mississippi senator, is a leader in the organization of Citizens Councils. He helped form the Mississippi Citizens Council and called the group a "fine, strong organization." However, he pointed out that the purpose of citizens councils is "not political."

"The U.S. Supreme Court has been destroying harmonious relationships between the races in the South," the senator said, and "strong measures must be taken to prevent invasion of states rights by the federal government."

Sen. Eastland declined to comment on material planned for his speech last night before an important meeting of the Central Alabama Citizens Council.

## IN DEFENSE OF SOUTH

Sen. James O. Eastland (left) of Mississippi discusses the organization of the Citizens Council and defense of the South with Sen. Walter Givhan of Dallas County at the CACC rally last night at the Alabama Coliseum. Eastland spoke to an estimated crowd of 12,000 people.—Photo by Kraus

## ALL WALKS OF LIFE

# Coliseum Crowd Overflows To Hear 'Dixie Defender'

By JOE AZBELL  
Advertiser City Editor

Riding in shiny new Cadillacs, pickup trucks, rattletrap old Fords and atomic age Jaguars, the largest political crowd in the recent history of the state packed the Alabama Coliseum last night to "rededicate themselves to the Southern way of life."

They came from everywhere—Lowndes, Dallas, Jefferson, Tuscaloosa, Macon, Covington, Mobile, Gadsden — to hear Sen. James O. Eastland, spokesman of the Southern way of life. The crowd began to pack the huge coliseum before 6, filled half of it before 7 and by 8, the line of

cars headed to the mammoth building stretched to Madison avenue.

They filed in the coliseum doors in long lines, millionaires mingling with farmers, as many women as men, all with eager looks on their faces like people going to a Billy Graham revival. As they entered the door, they were handed a copy of a magazine, "Arkansas Faith" with the battlecry line, "The South Will Fight." Inside this was a booklet, "The Citizens Council," which was an allegiance to the states rights and segregation, a reprint of a letter to the editor of the Alabama (See CROWD, Page 8A)

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21 APR 26 1954

MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER

Montgomery, Ala.

February 11, 1956

Page 1

(3)

ENCLOSURE

105-33955-27

## Crowd

(Continued from Page 1-A)

bama Journal on states rights, and applications for the WCC.

### SHOW BIG JIM

A doorman handed a magazine to a friend: "We're going to show old Big Jim tonight." He then expounded on his impression of the governor. Inside against the wall were huge floor sweep barrels with signs above them, "Donations." Tacked on front of the barrels were red, white and blue shields. At each of the entrances were two long banquet tables with five people seated behind each. They had cigar boxes for cash boxes and White Citizens Council application blanks before them. Business was of the land office variety. One girl complained before the end of the night that she had "writer's cramps."

Signing up were all manner of people, teen-agers who handed over their money, old people with walking canes, young businessmen, women and political figures. Inside the atmosphere was "pop-corn, Rebel yells and Dixie." As a band made up mostly of Alcazar Shrine Temple band members led by Happy Hurst beat out "Dixie," the huge coliseum thundered under a Rebel yell. The audience stood in reverence.

The coliseum was decorated with flag bunting, red, white and blue paraphernalia and the Stars and Bars. Two men carried a Confederate flag to the speakers' rostrum and anchored it beside the speakers' stand.

### LARGE CROWD

Seated down in the arena were an estimated 2,000 people, while some 30 political figures had seats on the platform. Overall, in the coliseum seats and aisles were an estimated 12,000. The catcalls were clear: "Where's Big Jim?" And a loud holler: "He's in Birmingham to see Lucy." Behind which came a thundering, "Yea, Dixie." It was a pep rally and a political convention and an old fashioned revival all mixed in a big pot.

As Luther Ingalls, CC director, introduced the various speakers, the roof of the coliseum popped with the cheers. When Mayor W. A. Gayle spoke, the audience cheered and gave him a rising ovation. The same occurred as Commissioner Clyde Sellers spoke. Commissioner Frank Parks also received a thunderous ovation. Sellers and Gayle said they would hold the line against Negro integration and the house fell in again with cheers. Parks said he was "with 'em."

As Sen. Sam Englehardt spoke, he too received the Caesar cry. It was a well dressed audience; it could have been a crowd at a Sunday church meeting or civic club. It was a Southern crowd. Mention that the South will fight integration and the key was turned for ovation.

### WORKING PRESS

Down at the speaker's rostrum were lined newspapermen from New York, Chicago, Birmingham, Atlanta, Nashville and TV cameras of CBS and movie cameras of Movietone News, Fox News, Tele-News and the grinding cameramen of a half dozen TV men.

Sen. Eastland rode into the coliseum in a Highway Patrol car. He stepped on the platform amid flashing bulbs and momentous cheering.

The flags, the intoxicating popcorn odors and an atmosphere of march music and Dixie renditions did something to this cheering, enthusiastic crowd. The audience was the important thing—as one political figure put it: "This is what the people think. This is what they have been waiting for a chance to say how they feel."

Bruce Henderson, Mayor Chris Heinz, Revenue Board members, the legislative delegation and scores of other political personalities including many members of the Legislature were there. No one could say these were people from any section of Montgomery—as many came from Cloverdale as from Oak Park, as many from Capitol Heights as West End.

They came to hear leaders express themselves on segregation. They went away satisfied. They seem to be fresher in a determination to hold the line.

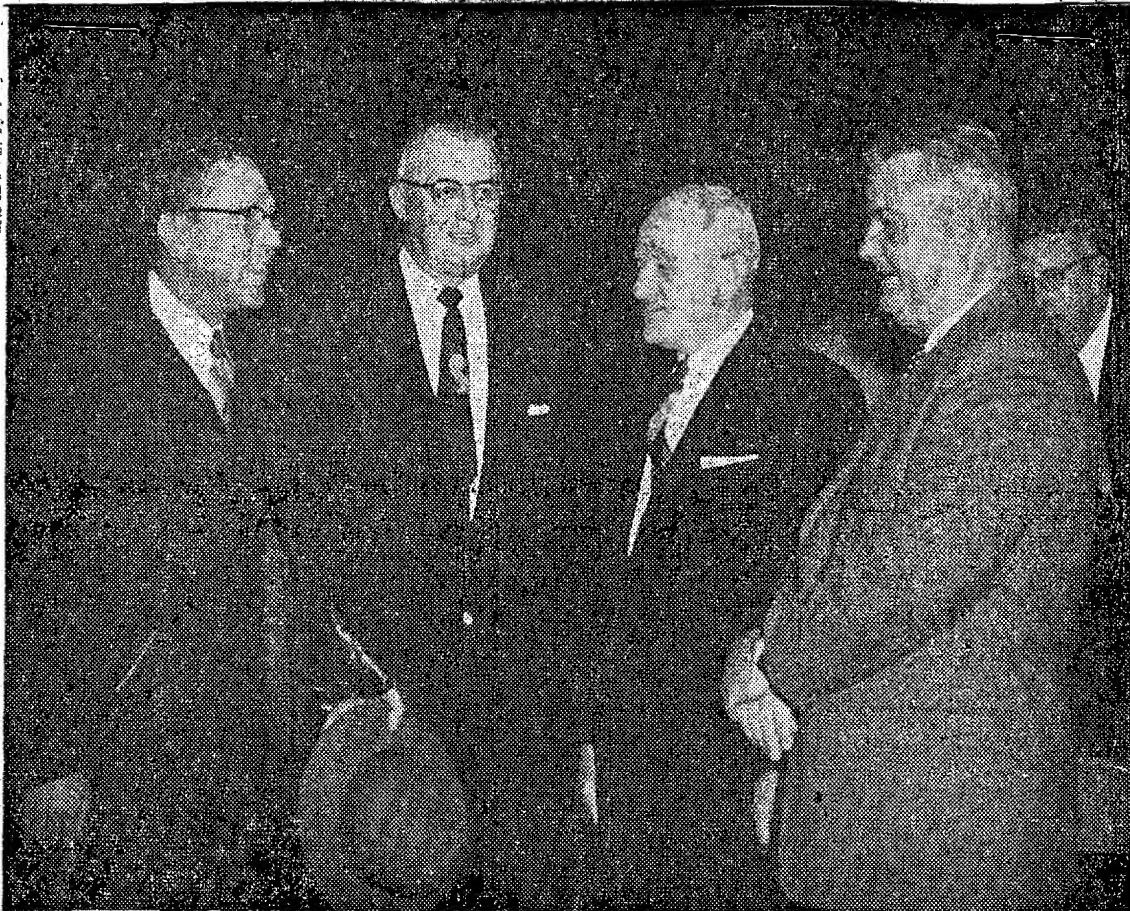
Said a woman: "God bless 'em. God bless 'em. God, give us more of 'em—men like those men. God, give us more of 'em."

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21 APR 26 1972

(4)





## SELLERS AND GAYLE CHEERED

Commissioner Clyde Sellers (right) and Mayor W. A. Gayle (second from left) discuss the segregation issue with Sen. Bruce Henderson, of Miller's Ferry (left), and Gen. Crack Hanna, of Birmingham. Sellers and Gayle received standing ovations from the crowd for their stand on the segregation question.—Photo by Kraus.

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21 APR 26 1972

MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER  
Montgomery, Ala.  
February 11, 1956

Page 1

ENCLOSURE

(5)  
105-33955-27

105-33955-28  
**CHANGED TO**  
105-46001-1

APR 3 1956

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DATE 10/27/99 BY 60312 NLS/BCE/AMW

S. m.

e

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :  
FROM :  
SUBJECT:

Director, FBI

DATE: 2/21/56

SAC, Mobile

CHANGED: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS'  
COUNCILS OF ALABAMA,  
aka CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF ALABAMA  
IS - X

The title of this case is marked changed to reflect the complete name of subject organization as ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF ALABAMA.

Reference is made to Bulet to Mobile and Birmingham 2/3/56 concerning the opening of separate files on the various citizens' councils in Alabama in the absence of a state-wide organization.

For the information of the Bureau and Birmingham, news articles reflected that a state-wide organization was formed at Montgomery, Alabama on 2/17/56 to be known as ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF ALABAMA.

News articles reflect that the state headquarters of the organization will be at Montgomery and that Dr. JOHN WHITLEY, a Tarrant City druggist, was elected chairman of the organization and State Senator SAM ENGELHARDT, JR. of Macon County was named executive secretary.

An article appearing in The Mobile Register newspaper 2/18/56 reflected that the final organization was completed at a closed meeting by a committee of eleven men who had been named to carry out this plan at a state meeting held in Montgomery the past week. According to this news article, the state constitution of the subject organization specifies that the organization is dedicated to maintain peace, good order and domestic tranquility and to preservation of states' rights. The article stated that ROBERT PATTERSON of Winona, Mississippi, Executive Secretary of the Mississippi White Citizens' Council, had helped in the organizational session.

Others present other than WHITLEY and ENGELHARDT were identified in this article as "Col. ALSTON KEITH of Selma, Sen. WALTER C. GIVHAN of Safford, LUTHER INGALLS of Montgomery, TED HAGEN of Birmingham, EARL BAILEY of Tarrant City, FRED HENDERSON of Millers Ferry, CLAUDE KELLY of Atmore, TELFAIR WASHBURN

2 - Bureau (105-33955) (REGISTERED MAIL)  
2 - Birmingham (105-272) (REGISTERED MAIL)  
1 - Mobile (105-121)  
JTB:1  
(5)

RECORDED - 21

INDEXED - 21

FEB 24 1956

MAR 6 1956

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DATE 10/27/95 BY 60327 MS/CEC/AMW

SE 44-105-33955-29

ALA

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b6  
b7C

Director, FBI

*Member of Subject ORGANIZATION*  
2/21/56  
of Bay Minette and LAWRENCE ~~CRAWFORD~~ of Marion. "ALA"

According to the news article, the organizers' constitution provides that the organization will be financed by an annual assessment of \$1. from each member in the recognized and qualified county councils.

In view of this information, separate files will not be opened on the individual county councils and all information concerning citizens' councils in that portion of Alabama covered by Mobile will be reported in one file captioned as above.

Inasmuch as the state headquarters of the organization is at Montgomery, the Mobile Office should be considered office of origin in instant investigation.

The Bureau is referred to previous communications entitled "CENTRAL ALABAMA CITIZENS' COUNCIL" in which the Bureau was advised that a separate report would be submitted under caption "CENTRAL ALABAMA CITIZENS' COUNCIL." In view of the formation of the state-wide organization, this separate report will not be submitted but this information will be included in one report which will be submitted in the near future.

SAC, Mobile (105-121)

March 1, 1956

Director, FBI

**ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF ALABAMA**  
**INTERNAL SECURITY - X**

Reference is made to previous correspondence concerning individual citizens councils in Alabama and also concerning the formation of a state-wide organization.

Information set out in an article in "The Tuscaloosa News" in its February 18, 1956, issue reveals that State Senator Walter C. Givhan on February 17, 1956, at a citizens council meeting in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, stated the state-wide organization being formed would act as a clearing house for action of all the united but autonomous 67 or more county councils.

From other information received it appears that the councils formed in Alabama are self-governing and merely affiliated with the state-wide organization. Therefore, Mobile and Birmingham are instructed to furnish the Bureau promptly a list of all citizens councils active in your territories. A separate file should be opened on each and a report suitable for dissemination submitted on each organization. No deadline is being set for the submission of these reports in view of the number of councils; however, this matter should receive continuous attention and reports should be submitted promptly.

You are reminded that your inquiries concerning these organizations should be most discreet and conducted in accordance with instructions set forth in SAC Letter 55-66.

2cc - Birmingham (105-272)

105-33955-30

RECORDED-99

MAR 1 1956

EX-121

CFW: mag

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aw

COMM - FBI  
 MAR 1 1956  
 MAILED 26

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

71 MAR 6 1956

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 DATE 10/27/94 BY 10407 NLS/CEC/HMW



F B I

Date: 3-6-56

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mason	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following message via AIRTELAIR MAIL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

From SAC, BIRMINGHAM (105-272)

To: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-33955)

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF  
ALABAMA  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Rebulet to Mobile March 1, 1956.

BH Office preparing individual reports on Citizens Councils in this territory. Bureau advice is requested re whether these reports should be disseminated locally to ONI, OSI, and G-2.

FULTS

3 Bureau (AM)  
 1 Birmingham

CBS:T  
 (4)

Mr. Belmont

RECORDED - 15

105-33955-31

EX - 107

23 MAR 7 1956

let to Birmingham  
 3-13-56  
 CFW

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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 DATE 10/27/99 BY 60372 NS/EE/AMW

71 MAR 1956

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

cc - Mr. [redacted]

b6  
b7C

March 12, 1956

65935

RECORDED - 52 105-33955-32  
INDEXED - 52  
RECORDED - 52

Mr. [redacted]  
[redacted]  
East Gadsden, Alabama

Dear Mr. [redacted]:

Your letter postmarked March 1, 1956,  
together with the enclosure, has been received  
and the motives which prompted your communication  
are indeed appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/1/99 BY 60261 NIS/EC/LMD  
# 418315  
cc - Birmingham

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Correspondent's letter states that enclosed  
material may be inspired by Communists, <sup>and</sup> is a sample of  
what is being distributed in Alabama to stir up strife  
between the races. He states that he is of the white  
race.

Correspondent's letter enclosed a leaflet  
captioned "[redacted]...Professor of Howard  
University - Washington, D. C.," which states that

MJR:lfj (Note on Yellow, Page 2)  
(4)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 8  
MAR 12 1956  
COMM-FBI

MAR 20 1956

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

Letter to Mr. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

65936

b6  
b7c

East Gadsden, Alabama

anyone wishing to help prevent the aim of the NAACP being attained contact Ace Carter, Executive Secretary, Alabama Citizens' Council, Birmingham, Alabama. Bufiles contain no data re correspondent. The files reflect that your office forwarded an identical leaflet to Bureau by letter dated 2-2-56.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

A copy of the leaflet was furnished to AAG Tompkins on 2-15-56.

b6  
b7C

E. Gadsden, MHA.

DEAR Sir,

This is a sample sheet of The  
Type of Literature Being Passed out  
ALL OVER ALABAMA TO stir up The  
Feeling Between Whites and Colored.

This may or may not be Communist  
inspired But is certainly doing a  
good job in keeping everyone at each  
other's Throats.

I am White and not a great Believer  
in De Segregation But ANYTHING That will  
further The Communist Doctrine should  
be investigated.

Sincerely,

CITIZEN'S COUNCILS OF ALABAMA

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37  
EXP. PROC.  
MAR 2 1956  
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11 MAR 5 1956

ENCLOSURE  
52

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

EX-103

105-33955-32

EX-103

10/27/99 100267 NIS/CE/AMW

ENCLOSURE

105-33955-32

[redacted] . . . Professor of Howard University — Washington, D. C.

b6  
b7C

Speaking while organizing the N.A.A.C.P. in Jackson, Mississippi

"N.A.A.C.P. is affording you the leadership . . . emancipation is now at hand. White and methodist women have approved our demand for equality. When our demands have become an actuality . . . we will honor the leaders of Mississippi with blunt persecution. We demand that the War and Navy departments eliminate Jim Crow. Our good friend Marshall Zhukov reported to Stalin that he could never understand why the American negro fought for America, that so long as the U. S. had those splendid negro soldiers they could never whip America. The negro is the white man's superior. The negro has always excelled. There has never been a white man who could compete with Jackie Robinson . . . Nat King Cole . . . Ralph Bunche . . . Duke Ellington . . .

We demand the abolition of all state laws which forbid intermarriage of the different races. We demand the removal of the last vestige of barriers. The whole world knows that the white man prefers the negro woman. The white women have been subjected to persecution and restriction. The recent announcement by white women's church organizations serves notice they intend to strike their own shackles. It is well known that the white woman is dissatisfied with the white man, and they along with us demand the right to win and love the negro men of their choice, so they can proudly tell the world he is my man . . . a man in every respect. The average negro man has adopted the attitude that why buy a cow when he can get plenty of mountain butter for nothing. We demand the right for every negro man or woman to marry the white of his or her choice, if he can find one fit to marry. I am proud of my negro heritage . . . and I will not mix that negro blood with the stock of an inferior race.

And now allow me to bring you the good news of Arkansas Winthrop Rockefeller, our good friend . . . has assured us that the Governor, Orville . . . is our friend and will be anxious to meet all our demands though playing along with the segregationists . . . will do all he demands of him . . . and all we demand of him . . . he has promised that we will have representation and control of the State Democratic Committee and that we will dominate that Committee in organization. He has promised us representation and control in the State Educational Department . . . You can imagine what benefits will accrue to the negro from this appointment . . . he has promised he will appoint negro to Alcoholic Control Board . . . he has promised to remove the hideous word "colored" from all toilets and water fountains he has promised that during his second term . . . the Adjutant General of the Arkansas National Guard will be an outstanding negro. He has promised us that negroes will be integrated into all state colleges. He has promised not to approve any legislation until it is approved by our own the honorable I. S. McClendon. Promised to appoint negroes to the State Pardon and Paroles Board . . . will fill vacancy on Arkansas University Board with a negro . . . and the chaplain in the next Arkansas legislature will be an outstanding negro minister. Now hear this we will absolutely control the next election in Arkansas . . . . ."

If you wish to help prevent the aim of the N.A.A.C.P., contact Ace Carter, Executive Secretary, Alabama Citizens' Council, 517-18 Lyric Building, 3rd Avenue and 18th Street North. — Phone 54-2295 — 4-7797, Birmingham, Ala.

105-33955-32

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